“All the News That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, sunny to partly cloudy skies, high 76. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, a light west-southwest wind, low 57. **Tomorrow,** sunny to partly cloudy, high 79. Weather map, Page D6.

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 15, 2023

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In Turkey Vote, Erdogan Fails To Get Majority

Kilicdaroglu Forces a Runoff in 2 Weeks

By BEN HUBBARD and GULSIN HARMAN

ANKARA, Turkey — Turkey’s presidential election appeared on Sunday to be headed for a runoff after the incumbent, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, failed to win a majority of the vote, a result that left the longtime leader struggling to stave off the toughest political challenge of his career.

The outcome of the vote set the stage for a two-week battle between Mr. Erdogan and Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the opposition leader, to secure victory in a May 28 runoff that may reshape Turkey’s political landscape.

With the unofficial count nearly completed, Mr. Erdogan received 49.4 percent of the vote to Mr. Kilicdaroglu’s 44.8 percent, according to the state-run Anadolu news agency.

But both sides claimed to be ahead.

“Although the final results are not in yet, we are leading by far,” Mr. Erdogan told supporters gathered outside his party’s headquarters in Ankara, the capital.

Speaking at his own party’s headquarters, Mr. Kilicdaroglu said the vote would express the “nation’s will.” He said, “We are here until each and every vote is counted.’’

The competing claims came early Monday after a nail-biter evening during which each camp accused the other of announcing misleading information. Mr. Erdogan warned the opposition on Twitter against “usurping the national will” and called on his party faithful “not to leave the polling stations, no matter what, until the results are finalized.”

Opposition politicians disputed the preliminary totals reported by Anadolu, saying that their own figures collected directly from polling stations showed Mr. Kilicdaroglu in the lead.

At stake is the course of a NATO member that has managed to unsettle many of its Western allies by maintaining warm ties with the Kremlin. One of the world’s 20 largest economies, Turkey has an array of political and economic ties that stretch across Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East, and its domestic and foreign policies could shift profoundly depending on who wins.

The vote was in many ways a

Continued on Page A8

SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watching election coverage. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had 49.4 percent of the vote, and Kemal Kilicdaroglu had 44.8 percent.

NORTH CAROLINA FACES VETO FIGHT ON ABORTION BILL

GOVERNOR SEEKS HELP

Asking Public to Lobby G.O.P. Supermajority Against Override

By KATE KELLY

WILMINGTON, N.C. — Gov. Roy Cooper of North Carolina, now in the waning years of his second term, has suddenly found himself back on a campaign trail.

On Wednesday, flanked by supporters in a fifth-floor classroom at Cape Fear Community College in Wilmington, Mr. Cooper made a direct appeal to residents. But he was not looking for thousands of votes. Just one.

North Carolina’s Republican-dominated legislature has passed a bill banning most abortions after 12 weeks. Mr. Cooper, a Democrat, vetoed the bill. But to prevent the legislature from using its razor-thin supermajority to override his veto, Mr. Cooper is asking voters to pressure Republican lawmakers. Convincing just one legislator will keep the state’s current abortion law — allowing it up to 20 weeks — in place.

In Wilmington, he urged voters to send a message to their representatives in the legislature — “ask them to keep their promise” to preserve existing abortion laws, he said, referring to Republican lawmakers he said had previously signaled some support for abortion access.

Let them know, he said, “whether it’s a phone call, or it’s an email, or it’s a text.”

Mr. Cooper’s plea, and the showdown between the governor’s office and the legislature, represents an extraordinary moment in North Carolina politics, as well as in the nation’s volatile abortion fight.

Since the Supreme Court last year overturned Roe v. Wade, states have been free to severely restrict or ban the procedure, and many across the South have done exactly that. As a result, North Carolina has become an outlet for women in the region who could not get abortions in their home states.

For North Carolina, the override vote would be a consequential early test of the Republicans’ new, slim supermajority, since Tricia Cotham, a former Democrat, switched parties in April and voted in favor of the ban.

Continued on Page A14

Homeless Man on City’s Radar Years Before Death on Subway

Agencies Can Struggle to Help People on ‘Top 50’ List

By ANDY NEWMAN

For years before Jordan Neely, a mentally ill homeless man, was killed in the subway, the city had its eye on him.

He was on a list informally known as the Top 50, a roster of people in a city of eight million who stand out for the severity of their troubles and their resistance to accepting help. The list is overseen by a task force of city agency workers and social-service nonprofits; when homeless-outreach workers see someone who is on the list, in some cases they are supposed to notify the city and try to get that person to a shelter.

Despite that, and an open arrest warrant, Mr. Neely was out on his own on May 1, when he began ranting at passengers. A Marine veteran, Daniel Penny, grabbed him and choked him to death; Mr. Penny has now been charged with manslaughter.

In the wake of Mr. Neely’s death, the administration of Mayor Eric Adams has been criticized by advocates for homeless people and left-leaning political opponents who say the killing highlights deep problems in the city’s support systems for homeless people and those with mental illness.

At a news conference on Thursday, Councilwoman Pierina Sanchez, referring to Mr. Neely’s presence on the list, said: “Our city knew exactly who Jordan was, where he was and what his history was. And yet we failed him.”

But as officials describe it, the task force and the Top 50 list were formed precisely for the people whom the system had failed time and again.

The death of Mr. Neely, 30, who had been homeless for years, also shows the limits of the tools the task force has at its disposal and the difficulty of keeping track of

Continued on Page A19

Adams Says He’s a Progressive. New York’s Left Begs to Differ.

The Mayor Tacks Right on Housing, Religion and Public Safety

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

When a homeless man was choked to death on the New York City subway this month by another passenger, Mayor Eric Adams had an uncharacteristically guarded response. For more than a week, he did not denounce the killing, as many of his Democratic colleagues immediately had, or express much sympathy for the victim, Jordan Neely.

Instead, the mayor chose a more detached view, noting that there were “serious mental issues in play here.”

“I was a former transit police officer, and I responded to many jobs where you had a passenger assisting someone,” he said on CNN. “And so we cannot just blatantly say what a passenger should or should not do in a situation like that.”

The mayor’s response was the most recent example of his tacking away from the city’s left, creating a wedge with some of his Democratic colleagues. Mr. Adams has been pushing more moderate, sometimes even conservative, views on issues like rent, religion and his signature theme, improving public safety — a sharp turn from his Democratic predecessor, Bill de Blasio, and from progressive leaders who have recently won mayoral elections in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles.

The latest example came on Wednesday, when Mr. Adams issued an executive order temporarily suspending some of the rules related to the city’s longstanding right-to-shelter mandate, as officials struggle to find housing for asylum seekers arriving from the southern border. The move was criticized by advocates for the homeless and Democratic officials like Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker.

The mayor has spoken ruefully about the separation of church

Continued on Page A18

Island Nation Strives to Go Green, but Oil and Gas Come First

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — Ribboned shovel in hand, Prime Minister Keith Rowley joined a ceremonial groundbreaking last month to celebrate Trinidad and Tobago’s first large solar farm project expected to generate power for 42,000 homes.

But if anyone thought the project symbolized the twilight of the island nation’s long embrace of fossil fuels, Mr. Rowley set them straight.

“We will continue to extract the hydrocarbons available to us as long as there is an international market,” Mr. Rowley said, as BP and Shell executives looked on. “If we are going to sell the last barrel of oil or the last molecule of gas, so be it.”

Trinidad and Tobago is known for its white sandy beaches, mountainous rainforests and steel pan drums. But its economy depends on oil and natural gas, not tourism.

It is one of the largest producers of fossil fuels in the Western Hemisphere, and more than a century of drilling has left its mark.

TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A tanker ship at the Atlantic LNG terminal in Trinidad, picking up deep-chilled gas for Britain.

The major highways on the main island are clogged by traffic and lined with industrial warehouses. Oil is stitched in the culture, a theme in many calypso songs. Even the steel pan drums originated from the lids of used oil barrels.

If Trinidad seems to be zigging and zagging on climate change policy, it is hardly the only one. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and the United States are also building large solar farms while exploring for new oil gushers. Developing nations with fossil fuel riches — a group that includes Guyana, Nigeria and Namibia as well as Trinidad — say they cannot easily leapfrog to renewable energy because they lack capital and because their poor rely on cheap power and oil revenues for

Continued on Page A12

Baby Boomers Leaving Behind Riches, Still Mostly for the Rich

Record Wealth Transfer Between Generations

By TALMON JOSEPH SMITH

An intergenerational transfer of wealth is in motion in America — and it will dwarf any of the past.

Of the 73 million baby boomers, the youngest are turning 60. The oldest boomers are nearing 80. Born in midcentury as U.S. birthrates surged in tandem with an enormous leap in prosperity after the Depression and World War II, boomers are now beginning to die in larger numbers, along with Americans older than 80.

Most will leave behind thousands of dollars, a home or not much at all. Others are leaving their heirs hundreds of thousands, or millions, or billions of dollars in various assets.

In 1989, total family wealth in the United States was about $38 trillion, adjusted for inflation. By 2022, that wealth had more than tripled, reaching $140 trillion. Of the $84 trillion projected to be passed down from older Americans to millennial and Gen X heirs through 2045, $16 trillion will be transferred within the next decade.

Heirs increasingly do not need to wait for the deaths of elders to directly benefit from family money, a result of the bursting popularity of “giving while living” — including property purchases, repeated tax-free cash transfers of estate money, and more — providing millions a head start.

It’s no longer “an oncoming phenomenon,” said Douglas Boneparth, a 38-year-old financial adviser whose New York firm caters to affluent millennials. “It’s present-day.”

And it is already affecting the broader economy, greasing the wheels of social mobility for some and leaving obstacles for those left out as the cost of living, housing and raising families surge.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Cyclone Mocha Hits Myanmar

Despite predictions, the storm, which made landfall on Sunday, has been damaging but not catastrophic. PAGE A8

Thai Voters Back Opposition

In a rebuke of the military, citizens supported a populist political mainstay and a progressive upstart. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A13-19

The End of the Coastal Elite

Educated workers are migrating away from the country’s most expensive major metros — and have been since even before Covid. The Upshot. PAGE A16

The Week’s Forecast for 2024

The presidential race has started to crystallize, with flawed standard-bearers, worried political parties and voters unhappy with their choices. PAGE A17

An Impasse on Immigration

Legislative initiatives to overhaul immigration policy have fallen flat as partisan differences have scuttled attempts at compromise. PAGE A13

SPORTS D1-6

Mourning a Hometown Hero

Sandhill, Miss., remembered Tori Bowie, an Olympic sprinter, as an inspiration on and off the track. PAGE D3

Morant Suspended Again

A new video showed Ja Morant, the star Grizzlies guard, flashing an object that appeared to be a gun. PAGE D6

ARTS C1-6

Setting the Stage for Africa

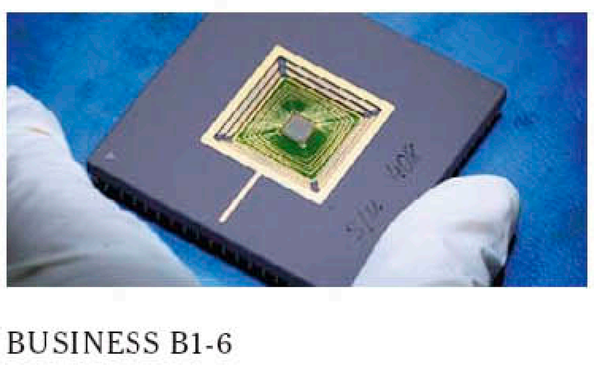
Lesley Lokko, the Venice Architecture Biennale’s first curator of African descent, is planning to undertake an ambitious exploration of the continent’s impact on the globe. PAGE C1

Nothing’s Still So Funny

“Seinfeld” ended 25 years ago, but in an era when so many of our priorities are being re-evaluated, the comedy still seems to be about pretty much everything, Maya Salam writes. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

Farah Stockman PAGE A20



BUSINESS B1-6

Hurdles in a Chip Race

As the U.S., China and Taiwan strive to stay on the cutting edge, they face trade restrictions, engineer shortages and reliance on foreign firms. PAGE B1

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The New York Times

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The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword C3
Obituaries A22, B7
Opinion A20-21
Weather D6
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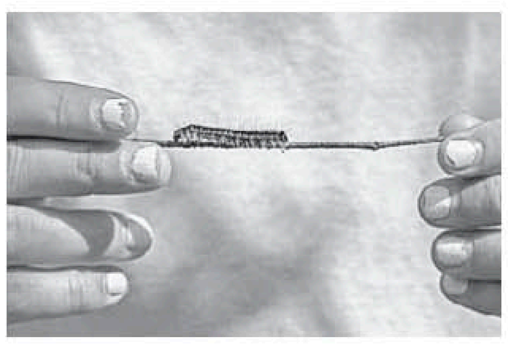


AUDIO On the "Popcast" podcast, Ben Sisario, The Times's music business reporter, digs into how the Ed Sheeran trial differed from other recent copyright battles and how current laws fail to account for the way most contemporary pop music is made. Listen at *nytimes.com/popcast*.

LEARNING NETWORK What can you learn about the world by looking at it through a particular lens? The Learning Network created a lesson plan for students and teachers with five photography assignments inspired by pictures published in The Times. The assignments can be fulfilled with a smartphone camera. *nytimes.com/learning*

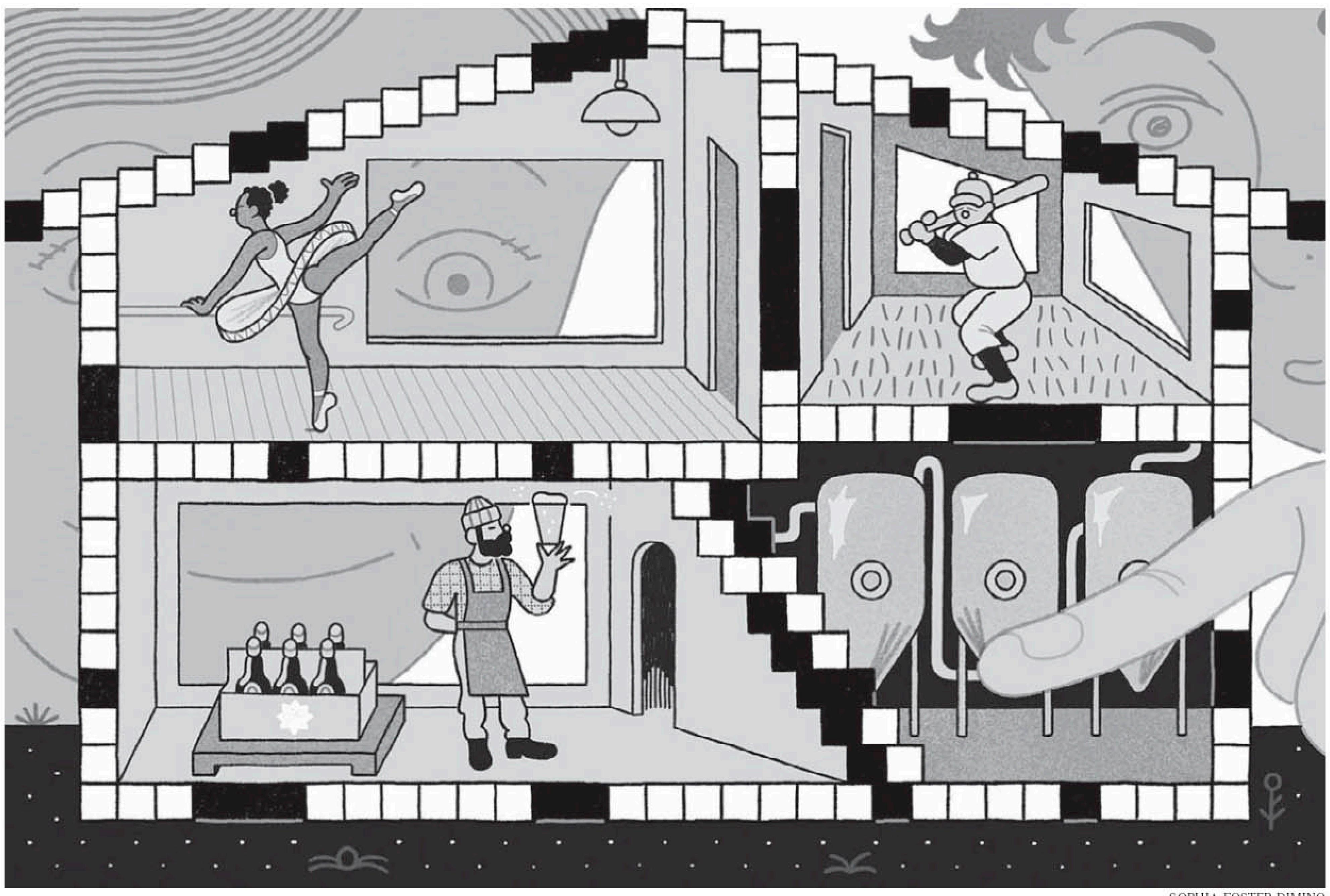
NEWSLETTER In the subscriber-only newsletter "It Happened Online," Madison Malone Kircher breaks down two different viral book sagas: one involving a little-known Twitter user and the other, Taylor Swift. *nytimes.com/newsletters*

Quote of the Day

"For me, it was time to give back the love they gave me before."

LASSINA TRAORÉ, *a forward for the Ukrainian Premier League soccer club Shakhtar Donetsk, about his decision to return to Ukraine to play for the team despite the war. Page D2.*

The Story Behind the Story



SOPHIA FOSTER-DIMINO

Small Clues That Don't Come Up Short

In Wordplay, a crossword columnist shares tips for solving the day's puzzle. Warning: Spoilers are ahead.

By SAM CORBIN

In cities with a concentration of word nerds, there exists a curious form of nightlife known as the pun competition. I've competed in many, such as Punderdome, in Brooklyn; the O. Henry Pun-off, in Austin; and It's Always Punny in Philadelphia. These competitions thrive on what I'll call penny wordplay: low-hanging, prompt-based puns, occasionally bawdy in nature, delivered in such a way as to elicit far higher returns (read: roars) than their worth from an increasingly pickled crowd.

The wordplay that makes up the theme of today's crossword, constructed by Tomas Spiers, is of that variety. I say this not as a slight: In fact, it's the stuff of a perfect Monday puzzle, and it may likewise elicit ecstasy that belies its simplicity.

Today's Theme

Now that I've built this up with enough foofaraw, I hope it doesn't fall short of your expectations. Only that's exactly what these themed clues do visually, isn't it?

You'll note that in "Earth or Tattooine" (17A), the nouns are printed in minuscule text. Visually speaking, this makes either one a SMALL WORLD. Wondering what to call the "N.B.A. or W.N.B.A." (27A) while it's looking so tiny? Why, a LITTLE LEAGUE, of course.

The fill at 44-Across — MICROBREWERY, for beer companies written in small text — brings to mind a joke about appliances that never fails to make an appearance at pun competitions: A competitor will open the round with a small hand motion to greet the crowd, then say coyly, "That was my micro-wave."

Tricky Clues

14A. In life, you read between the lines; in crossword puzzles, you read between the words. That's where you'll find the "Name hiding in 'nam**ed na**mes,'" which is EDNA.

15A. As soon as I discovered ARGON, the "Most abundant noble gas in the earth's atmosphere," I was reminded of another pun often lobbed in chemistry-themed rounds of competition: "What happens when all of us AR-GON?" someone will shout, to raucous applause.

23A. Try busting out the ONE-STEP next time you're in the club: It's just one step for every beat in the music. A "Simple ballroom dance," indeed.

53A. Most of you probably intuited that "'____ no more!'" must solve to SAY. For my part, since it's springtime in New York and I'm just coming out of my seasonal blues, I saw this and yelled "SAD no more!" into my empty living room.

4D. You might record purchases in a "Book" known as a SALES LOG, but I'll bet a handful of you read SALE SLOG and thought about the last time you had an "All-out shopping trip" (51D).

38D. "Urban photography subjects" might have had you thinking about city people. Here, however, the subjects in question are far more panoramic: SKYLINES.

Solving Tip: Plurals

The structure of the entry will always match the structure of the clue, and there are various ways to tell whether a clue is hinting at a singular or plural entry. An ending in "s" invariably indicates a plural, for example. Here are a few other tips for today's puzzle and others:

- "Some" indicates a plural, as in 34-Across, "Some snakelike fish" (EELS).
- "One of many" means you're looking for a singular.
- The use of "or" between terms indicates a singular, as in all of today's themed clues. "And" means plural.

A Note From the Constructor

Some of the themes I've been most proud of coming up with have been ones that arose through my natural interactions with the world. I try to keep my "crossword brain" on, and when I come across interesting words or phases I ask myself, "What wordplay could come out of this?"

This theme idea came from the title of my favorite song by one of my favorite bands, "Little Things" by Big Thief. Of course, a puzzle that simply listed small things in the grid might not be interesting for solvers. I wondered if there was a way to develop a theme around "little things" that was a bit more playful and driven by wordplay or visuals, and I arrived on using a subscript in the clues to reference phrases that included synonyms of "little." This choice was inspired by Leslie Rogers's March 28, 2022, Monday puzzle, which wowed me with its visual clues.

Play the crossword on Page C3, and read more Wordplay columns at nytimes.com/wordplay.

Today's Top Trending Headlines

The Greatest Wealth Transfer in History Is Here, With Familiar (Rich) Winners Today's front-page article on the transfer of wealth from baby boomers to their heirs was popular online. The boomer generation became earners just as the value of homes began a dramatic increase and index funds in the stock market became a reliable vehicle for wealth. "There are few aspects of economic life that will go untouched by the knock-on effects of the handover," wrote Talmon Joseph Smith, an economics reporter for The Times.

Live Updates: Turkey Awaits Outcome of Pivotal Elections Yesterday's election in Turkey was the culmination of the strongest challenge to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in his 20 years at the top of the country's politics. An international audience followed The Times's live updates.

He Told Followers to Starve to Meet Jesus. Why Did So Many Do It? Paul Nthenge Mackenzie marketed his estate in southeastern Kenya as a Christian sanctuary where followers could wait out the apocalypse. The estate is now a crime scene, where investigators have exhumed more than 170 bodies, many of which show signs of death by starvation. Andrew Higgins, a Times international correspondent, traveled to Kenya to report this article on a doomsday cult.

How a Military Base's New Name Honors a Military Spouse And Mother Arin Yoon, a photographer and military spouse, reported from Fort Moore, Ga., formerly Fort Benning and now the first U.S. military base named after a married couple, Lt. Gen. Harold G. Moore and Julie Moore.

A Headline From History

MOTHERS RALLY TO ASSAIL GUN VIOLENCE

May 15, 2000. With cries of "enough is enough," hundreds of thousands of mothers and gun-control advocates marched in Washington and other American cities, mourning the loss of children to gun violence and "vowing to transform the politics of gun control," The Times reported on its front page the next day. On the National Mall, speakers at the "Million Mom March" assailed the National Rifle Association and its power over Congress. The crowd listened to the families shattered by the shooting massacre at Columbine High School in Colorado, where two 12th graders killed 12 students and one teacher on April 20, 1999. According to The Washington Post, there have been 380 school shootings since the Columbine High School shooting. Almost one year ago, a gunman killed 19 children and two teachers at a school in Uvalde, Texas.

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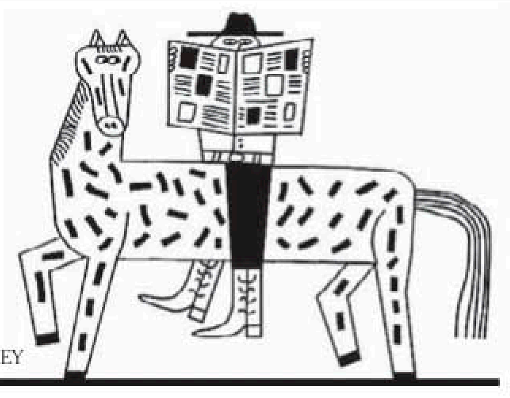

MARCUS OAKLEY

Facts of Interest

The series finale of "Seinfeld" was watched by 76 million people.

Years Later, 'Seinfeld' Resonates C1

FIFA, soccer's governing body, issued an edict shortly after Russia invaded Ukraine that allowed foreigners, whatever their contractual status, to unilaterally quit Ukrainian soccer teams and sign elsewhere.

When Your Champions League Dream Runs Through a War Zone D2

The Defense Department's Section 127e program, commonly called 127 Echo, can spend up to $100 million a year to arm and train counterterrorism proxy forces around the world.

Pentagon Not Required to Vet Foreign Proxy Forces For Human Rights Violations A9

Lesley Lokko, a Ghanaian Scottish architect and the curator of the upcoming Venice Architecture Biennale, stepped away from architecture for 14 years to write fiction after reading a Time Out guide to writing a best seller.

A New View on Race, Space And Architecture C1

Although the United States accounts for around 12 percent of global semiconductor production, American companies provide just 3 percent of chip packaging, according to IPC, a trade association.

A Hurdle-Filled Race to Make Computer Chips B1

Twelve of the past 20 No. 1 picks in the N.B.A. draft have made All-Star teams.

Sure Thing in the Draft Is Reliable In Adversity D1

Reader Corner

Tiny Love Stories

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or less. Read one edited Tiny Love Story below.

Sometimes I dream about the days when they'll be gone and I'll be free. No more cutting hair and nails or the crusts off their sandwiches. I often start day-dreaming when my sons are both yelling at me. "Don't yell at me!" I snap. "I cut off your crusts!" But in the early morning when they climb into my bed and push their little bodies against mine (one on either side), I wish time would stop. For a moment, we three are a sculpture carved from the same smooth stone. Perfectly made, with no hard edges.

ANNA SULLIVAN

What to Watch in Politics

Key Takeaways From Washington and Across the Nation

Right now, former President Donald J. Trump is taking up most of the oxygen in the lead-up to the 2024 Republican presidential primaries. But that could soon change, as several notable Republican rivals move closer to entering the race. Neil Vigdor, a politics reporter at The Times, runs down who could be next in line.

The Ron DeSantis watch went into over-drive on May 5, when Florida's legislative session ended. Before it concluded, Republican lawmakers rewrote a state law that allows Mr. DeSantis (top left), who has not yet announced a 2024 campaign, to remain governor while running for president. In Republican polls, he's been a distant second to Mr. Trump, amid his culture-war agenda and attacks on Disney .

Tim Scott (bottom left), the Senate's only Black Republican, who formed an exploratory committee this spring, is expected to announce his candidacy at a May 22 event in his home state, South Carolina. He's been positioning himself as the antithesis of Mr. Trump, emphasizing civility, faith and his rise from poverty.

In what hardly seemed coincidental, Mike Pence, Trump's former vice president (top right), appeared on Fox News the same night Mr. Trump appeared in a town-hall event on CNN. He said he was receiving "an awful lot of encouragement" to join the race but was not ready to decide.

Chris Christie (bottom right) is nearing the point of reckoning, having said in recent interviews that he'd make a decision on the race in the next few weeks. The former New Jersey governor, who suspended his 2016 candidacy after finishing sixth to Mr. Trump in New Hampshire's Republican primary, has been ratcheting up his criticism of the former president.

Read more reporting at nytimes.com/politics.

The Mini Crossword

1	2	3	4	5
6				
7				
■	8			
■	9			

5/15/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 It isn't always greener on the other side
6 The "MM" of MM/DD/YYYY
7 Band's version of another band's song
8 Number of letters in a Wordle guess
9 A saucer is a round one

DOWN
1 Maker of the Yukon and Acadia S.U.V.s
2 Building tops
3 Blacksmith's block
4 Martin who has hosted "S.N.L." 16 times
5 Tear to pieces

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

U	T	A	H	■
S	O	D	A	■
B	O	O	Z	Y
■	T	R	E	E
■	H	E	L	P

Here to Help

Vanessa Friedman Answers Your Style Questions

I am a small-business owner who generally doesn't give much thought to my wardrobe. Carhartt is my default. Recently, however, I realized that my clothes are all in drab Pacific Northwest earth tones. How do you make the style transition from "head down at work, trying to survive" to "Hello! Look at me! I might be occupied now, but I'm available for a date this evening?"

READ, PORT TOWNSEND, WASH.

It should not be news to you, but if Carhartt is your default, you are way ahead of the game. Carhartt is, by pretty much any measure, cool these days. Or maybe hot is a better word? Public figures including Senator John Fetterman and ASAP Rocky are fans, and brands like Marni and Junya Watanabe are jumping at the chance for a collaboration.

That said, it's always good to shake yourself out of any sort of comfort zone, even if it's just your closet. Pushing your wardrobe boundaries is an effective, easy way to start to push all sorts of boundaries. It frames your day in a new way, which has the result of changing, ever so slightly, your point of view.

So what to do?

Start with Carhartt itself, which figured out it could be fashionable back in 1989, 100 years after the company itself was founded, and started Carhartt W.I.P., the design-forward arm of the business. (W.I.P. stands for "work in progress," which is all of us!) This is the division that collaborates with runway names, among other creative types, and dips its toes into all sorts of unexpected colors and prints.

From there, Wes Gordon, the designer of Carolina Herrera, and a notably well-dressed man, suggested that the easiest hack is adding a touch of color to your outfit via a T-shirt or a knit — even if it's just a waffle knit undershirt. Wear your usual Carhartt workshirt on top, but let a pop of turquoise, emerald, yellow, red or pink show through.

Indeed, pink may well be the color of the summer, thanks to the "Barbie" movie. The co-star, and cinematic Ken, Ryan Gosling (himself a fan of Carhartt) has been making the promotional rounds in pretty much all varieties of the shade.

Mr. Gordon wasn't suggesting you go that far, but he said think of it as the "10 percent solution." Stay true to who you are, but change 10 percent. (He also advised staying away from colored socks, which can come across as a gimmick.)

David Farber, the men's fashion director of T Magazine, had another idea: Invest in a "well tailored, two-button, single-breasted suit in a lightweight wool fabric, perhaps with a bit of stretch for added comfort in a mid-tone gray color." Then start to deconstruct it.

Wear the jacket like a blazer with your Carhartt jeans and a T-shirt. Wear the pants with a sweater. Wear the whole thing if you really want to get dressed up. You'll end up with multiple looks for the price of one. Also, it will make you see what's already in your wardrobe in a whole new way. And that's one way to change how others see you.

Every week in the Open Thread newsletter — a look from across The Times at the forces that shape the dress codes we share — The Times's chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, answers a reader's fashion-related question. Sign up for Open Thread at nytimes.com/newsletters.

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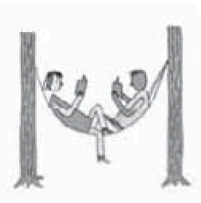

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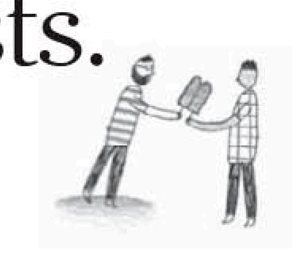

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A gold mine in the Central African Republic, near the area where nine Chinese workers were killed in March. A mystery over the deaths has underscored the Chinese government's security challenges.

Massacre of Chinese Gold Miners Puts New Pressure on Beijing

By NICOLE HONG
and ELIAN PELTIER

The Chinese Embassy in the Central African Republic had a stark warning for its compatriots in the landlocked nation: Do not leave the capital city of Bangui. Kidnappings of foreigners were on the rise, and any Chinese person outside of Bangui was to evacuate immediately.

Less than a week later, on March 19, a group of gunmen stormed a remote gold mine far away from Bangui and killed nine Chinese workers.

The Central African government has said that it investigated the massacre and concluded that a leading rebel group had orchestrated it. The rebels have denied the allegation and blamed a third party that operates in the country — Russia's Wagner mercenary group, which has in turn accused the rebels. None of the sides have presented evidence for their claims.

The investigation has left a trail of unanswered questions about the motives and methods of the attackers. More than a dozen Central African soldiers were supposed to be protecting the site, according to a diplomat briefed on the investigation, but on the day of the attack, only four of them were there and all survived.

The victims have not been identified, and their bodies were cremated shortly after the attack. One local mayor said the workers were shot at close range. A photo shared by local and Western officials based in the country showed how the assailants left the bodies face down in a row in the rust-colored mud, as if to send a message.

The murkiness around the killings underscored the growing security challenge facing the Chinese government as Chinese companies have rapidly expanded their activities around the world, often stepping into the middle of conflict zones with unstable governments and armed groups vying for territory.

Chinese workers have faced rising threats in countries like Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Pakistan, including a suicide bombing last year that targeted a Chinese cultural center in Karachi and killed three Chinese teachers. In 2020, three Chinese nationals were killed after a Chinese-owned warehouse in Zambia was set on fire.

The attacks have exposed the widening disconnect between China's economic ambitions and its security apparatus abroad, which relies on a patchwork of local military, mercenaries and private firms to guard Chinese workers, analysts say. China's military has a minimal presence overseas and a limited ability to project force far beyond its borders, according to John Van Oudenaren, an analyst focused on Chinese foreign policy at the Jamestown Foundation, a think tank.

But China's leader, Xi Jinping, has aggressively trumpeted a more nationalist image of China, raising the pressure at home on his government to show that China is proactively protecting its citizens overseas. In late April, as part of the evacuation of Chinese nationals out of Sudan, which has been rocked by a war between two rival generals, the Chinese government sent a military vessel that displayed a sign: "Chairman Xi has sent this naval ship to bring everyone home."

"China is on thin ice in the sense that they're entering some of the most poorly governed places in the world and supercharging conflicts," said Ammar Malik, a senior research scientist at William & Mary who tracks Chinese development finance. "And every time an attack happens, it angers the Chinese public and forces China to reconsider this light-touch, hands-off approach."

After the killings in the Central African Republic, people on Weibo, China's version of Twitter, commented sarcastically that the attack did not align with the portrayal of China in the "Wolf Warrior" movies, a pair of nationalistic Chinese action films that promoted the notion that China would always protect its citizens from danger in foreign lands.

But most online comments about the attack were heavily censored, with Weibo playing down hashtags about the deaths. Instead, the site highlighted a sharp public rebuke by Mr. Xi, who called for the attackers to be severely punished.

The accusations around Wagner's potential involvement are particularly sensitive for China, pointing to the complications Mr. Xi faces as he strengthens ties with Russia, even amid the war in Ukraine, with the goal of counterbalancing the United States and its Western allies. The killings occurred one day before Mr. Xi landed in Moscow to meet with his Russian counterpart, Vladimir V. Putin.

Some influential Chinese, like Hu Xijin, the former editor of the Global Times, a Communist Party newspaper, have said those who blamed Wagner for the attack were trying to undermine relations between China and Russia.

Wagner, a Kremlin-backed private network of firms involved in security, political influence and the exploitation of natural resources, has been a dominant presence in the Central African Republic since 2018. It provides personal protection and political support for President Faustin-Archange Touadéra, in exchange for access to diamonds, gold and timber.

In many parts of the country, Wagner has pushed out rebel groups from resource-rich areas, prompting them to turn more to kidnappings for ransom.

In early March, miners started to work near the village of Chimbolo, several hours northeast of the capital. The Gold Coast Group, a Chinese company, was opening a new gold mine there. The attack came soon after.

Researchers and local officials say the area is controlled by Wagner and the Central African army. But the government blamed the Coalition of Patriots for Change, an alliance of rebel groups. In response, Aboubakar Siddick Ali, a spokesman for the group, said in an interview that the rebels did not operate in the area to avoid being "cornered by Wagner."

Wagner has become more dependent on its mining operations in Africa, a source of hard cash that helps businessmen close to the Kremlin circumvent the Western sanctions imposed after its full-scale invasion of Ukraine, said Alessandro Arduino, an expert on Chinese security at King's College London.

"Wagner and China have the same exploitative interest in Africa, but Wagner thrives in chaos, while China needs stability," Mr. Arduino said.

Gold Coast, which was not reachable for comment, was one of many small Chinese mining companies that have sought in recent years to mine gold from the Central African Republic. Those firms have diverted waterways to mine riverbeds, researchers say, damaging the environment and angering local populations. Several of them have also been accused of human rights abuses.

"The presence of foreign companies creates tensions with locals, as one can expect," said Olivier Mbombo Mossito, who previously worked as a public prosecutor in Bambari, the closest city to the site of the killing. "The acquisition of this mining site by a Chinese company may have caused some anger, but from whom?"

Arnaud Djoubaye Abazène, the Central African Republic's justice minister, told reporters last month that the rebels were "unquestionably" behind the killing. But he did not release any evidence or take questions from reporters. He thanked "our Russian allies" for arresting and killing some of the suspected attackers, who have not been named.

Yevgeny Prigozhin, the head of Wagner, said in a written response to questions that "bandits killed the Chinese."

"The bandits were found," Mr. Prigozhin wrote. "There is nothing to discuss here."

But researchers and Western diplomats say the killings of the miners did not fit the profile of how rebel groups have targeted Chinese nationals in the past. The groups have typically kidnapped Chinese workers to extract ransom from their employers, with such execution-style assassinations being highly unusual.

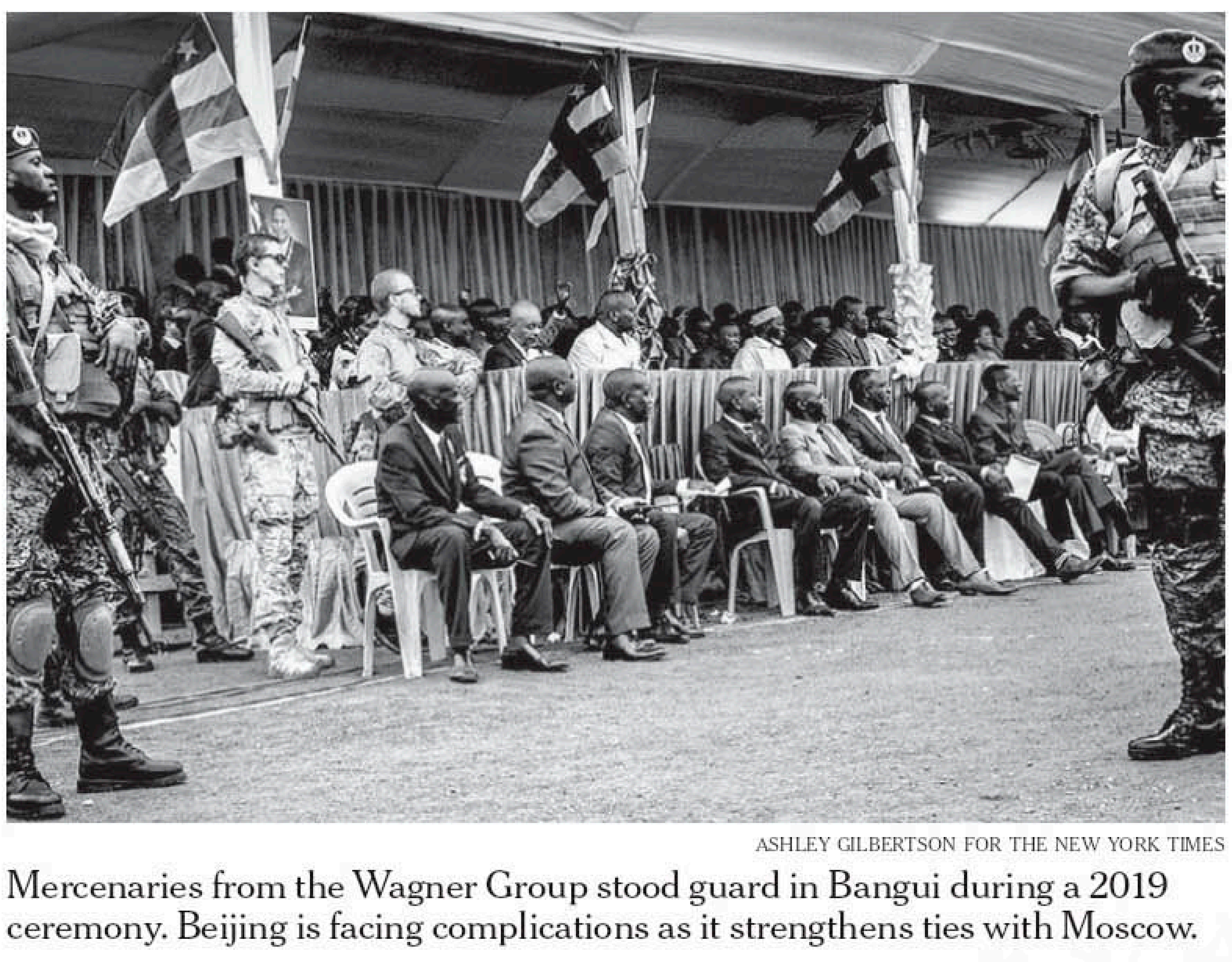
Two Chinese officials dispatched from Beijing attended the justice minister's news conference. They said that they had not yet been able to access the scene of the crime.

The mine has been closed since March 19. China repatriated about 80 citizens shortly after the killing.

Nicole Hong reported from Seoul, and Elian Peltier from Dakar, Senegal. Abdi Latif Dahir contributed reporting from Nairobi, Kenya.

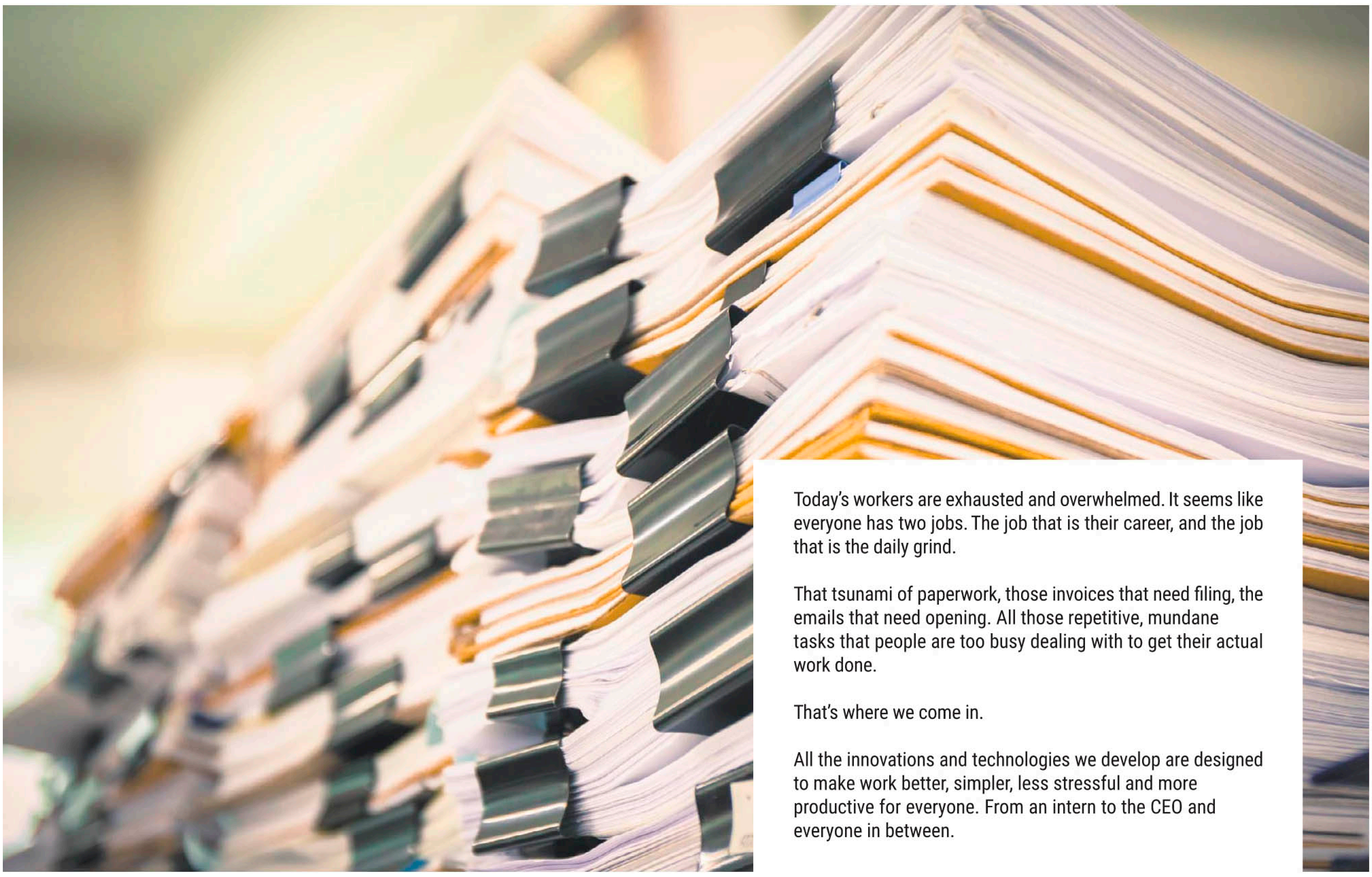
BARBARA DEBOUT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A march in Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, in support of Russia's presence in the country. A Central African rebel group and Russia's Wagner mercenary group have accused each other of carrying out the killings.



ASHLEY GILBERTSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mercenaries from the Wagner Group stood guard in Bangui during a 2019 ceremony. Beijing is facing complications as it strengthens ties with Moscow.



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War in Ukraine

Zelensky Visits Germany, Praising Weapons Pledge and Pushing for Jets

By ERIKA SOLOMON

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine met with Germany's leaders in Berlin on Sunday, his latest stop on a diplomatic tour aimed at shoring up support among Western allies and pushing for faster deliveries of weapons as a Ukrainian counteroffensive looms in the 15-month war.

Speaking to journalists side by side at the chancellery on Sunday morning, Mr. Zelensky and Chancellor Olaf Scholz sought to highlight an improving relationship with exchanges of gratitude and praise. But their responses to some questions — namely on fighter jets — reflected how Kyiv is still struggling to gain traction with Berlin and other Western allies on some of its demands.

Mr. Zelensky was escorted to Berlin by German fighter jets for his first trip to Germany since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine began more than a year ago. He was greeted with military honors by Mr. Scholz at the chancellery.

The grand reception came a day after Germany announced its largest package of military aid yet for Ukraine as the two nations seek to turn the page on months of rocky relations.

"German air defense systems, artillery, tanks and infantry fighting vehicles are saving Ukrainian lives and bringing us closer to victory," Mr. Zelensky wrote on Twitter on Sunday. "Germany is a reliable ally!"

Mr. Zelensky arrived in Paris on Sunday evening for a dinner with President Emmanuel Macron to discuss France's military and humanitarian aid, as well as possible future peace talks, according to a statement from Mr. Macron's office. The stop in Paris capped a two-day tour of European capitals in which Mr. Zelensky also held talks with Pope Francis and the Italian prime minister in Rome on Saturday.

In Germany, Mr. Zelensky and Mr. Scholz aimed to improve ties after a year marred by diplomatic sniping and wrangling over Berlin's initially slower pace in delivering weapons to Ukraine. Both Kyiv and Berlin are keenly aware that their relationship will be more important than ever ahead of Ukraine's looming counteroffensive against Russia, in which an influx of sophisticated Western-supplied weapons is expected to play a key role.

SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, left, and Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany traded compliments in front of reporters on Sunday. Mr. Zelensky traveled to Paris Sunday evening.

Mr. Scholz said that the Ukrainian leader's visit sent a "strong message" and vowed that Germany would provide support — including weapons — against Russian aggression for "as long as necessary."

Speaking to journalists after one-on-one talks, the two leaders struck a friendly tone: They addressed each other by their first names, and Mr. Scholz used the German language's more intimate form of address.

Mr. Zelensky said that the new arms package that Germany had announced the previous day, totaling 2.7 billion euros, or about $2.95 billion, was "very important and strong help." But underlining his quest for ever more powerful and sophisticated weapons, he noted that Germany was now Ukraine's second-largest backer after the United States and joked, "We are working to bring Germany to first place on that."

It was not clear whether the weapons pledged in the new package would arrive in time for Ukraine's much-anticipated counteroffensive against Russian forces. When asked by journalists whether Ukraine had received what was necessary to mount an offensive, Mr. Zelensky said, "A few more visits, and it will be sufficient."

The Ukrainian government has repeatedly urged its allies to supply fighter jets, and Mr. Zelensky told journalists on Sunday that on his recent visits to European capitals he had pushed to create a "fighter jet coalition" and had asked Berlin to support that effort.

But Mr. Scholz evaded any direct reply to that message, pointing instead to the weapons Germany had already provided and also pledged in the latest package. "That is what we as Germans are focusing on now," he said.

In addition to fighter jets, Ukraine has been requesting weapons capable of targeting Russian military infrastructure and troop concentrations far behind the front lines. With a counteroffensive looming, those demands have become more urgent.

Ukraine's assault could come in the south and east of the country, where Russia holds territory. While Kyiv has not said when or where the push will begin, Ukraine appears to have been intensifying attacks on Russian military strongholds and installations in preparation.

A report published on Sunday by The Washington Post, citing leaked documents, said that Mr. Zelensky had in private discussed far more aggressive attacks on Russia, including trying to occupy Russian villages or hit infrastructure within Russian territory.

But in Berlin, Mr. Zelensky insisted that his military was not interested in attacking Russian territory.

"We are liberating our legitimate territories," he said. "We have neither time nor strength for anything else. Nor do we have any weapons left with which to do so." A counteroffensive, he said, would focus on reclaiming "territories illegitimately conquered according to our constitution, within the framework of our legitimate borders, which are recognized worldwide."

Mr. Zelensky's recent travel stands in stark contrast to earlier in the war, when his decision to stay in Kyiv despite the Russian onslaught became a symbol of Ukrainian defiance.

The trips reflect the Ukrainian leader's efforts to bolster relations with European nations at a time when China has been positioning itself as a potential peacemaker in the conflict. In February, Beijing issued what it described as a 12-point peace plan for Ukraine, though Western officials criticized it as lacking substance.

In April, President Xi Jinping of China had a phone call with Mr. Zelensky, the first since the full-scale invasion began. China's top diplomat, Qin Gang, visited Europe last week, and on Monday a Chinese government envoy will begin a trip that is scheduled to include stops in Ukraine and Russia in an attempt to help negotiate an end to the war.

Mr. Zelensky's tour of allied capitals also comes amid concerns among European officials that American support for Ukraine could wane if a Republican is elected president next year. Some Ukrainian and German officials have said privately that Mr. Zelensky may be hoping to persuade Mr. Scholz to play a more influential role leading European support for the war and in any potential peace negotiations. But the chancellor has proved reluctant to take up a larger role.

The Ukrainian government has said its preconditions for any peace negotiations include a complete Russian withdrawal from all of Ukraine's territory and an end to hostilities. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has shown no signs of willingness to make concessions.

Mr. Scholz voiced support on Sunday for the Ukrainian position — probably an effort to allay previous concerns from Kyiv and other critics that he and Mr. Macron might try to pressure Ukraine into an agreement.

"Ukraine already rightly and with our full support demands that this cannot mean simply freezing the war and that a dictate peace is formulated from the Russian side," he said at a news conference. "Russia has to withdraw its troops. Without that, it won't work."

On Sunday afternoon, Mr. Zelensky and Mr. Scholz traveled together to the western German city of Aachen, where Mr. Zelensky received the prestigious Charlemagne award. The award is bestowed on people deemed to have done the most to promote European unity.

Previous winners have included Winston Churchill, Pope Francis, Angela Merkel and Bill Clinton. The judges' decision to award the prize to Mr. Zelensky and the people of Ukraine underscored both how the war has united Europeans and the irony that Ukraine is not a part of the European Union, despite Kyiv's strong entreaties to join.

RUSSIAN TOLL Russia's defense ministry said on Sunday that two Russian colonels were killed while repulsing Ukrainian attacks around Bakhmut in eastern Ukraine. The rare acknowledgment of senior personnel deaths underlined the ferocity of the prolonged battle for the city, which has been the epicenter of fighting in eastern Ukraine.

The announcement came one day after the Russian state news media reported that at least two Russian military aircraft had crashed in the country's Bryansk region, which borders Ukraine. The Tass news agency said the crashes involved an SU-34 fighter jet and an MI-8 helicopter. Aleksandr Bogomaz, the governor of Bryansk, said on Telegram that a helicopter had crashed but did not provide details on the cause. Russian military bloggers, citing video footage circulating widely on social media, said that at least three aircraft had crashed in Bryansk. It was not immediately possible to reconcile the conflicting accounts, and there was no comment from Russia's defense ministry.

Constant Méheut, Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Vivek Shankar and Anatoly Kurmanaev contributed reporting.

Ukraine Makes Gains in Suburbs as Relentless Shelling Pummels Bakhmut

By MARC SANTORA

CHASIV YAR, Ukraine — With the furious battle for the city of Bakhmut raging at their backs, a squad of Ukrainian soldiers tore through an open field, racing to get out of range of falling Russian artillery.

But before they could make it to safety, they said, they got a flat tire.

The three soldiers — known by the call signs Omar, Chip and Bandit — had spent the day on Friday taking part in Ukrainian offensive operations on the edge of Bakhmut in eastern Ukraine, blasting Russian tanks and armored vehicles. But after surviving another brutal day of battle, they worried that the punctured tire might doom them.

Omar, 36, hopped out of the car and used a screwdriver to put a plug in the hole. Within moments, they were off again.

The men, who recounted their story on Saturday just outside the nearby town of Chasiv Yar, were among the hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers ordered on the offensive around Bakhmut in recent days. The fighting has often been hard, they said, with many Russians willing to die rather than surrender even when surrounded.

But every step forward, they said, was better than a step back.

For nearly a year, Ukraine has been simply trying to hold on in Bakhmut as Russian forces pressed in on the city from both sides while at the same time laying waste — block by bloody block — to what had once been a vibrant salt-mining city of 80,000.

Over time, Bakhmut has taken on an outsize importance: a symbol of Ukrainian defiance and of Russian leaders' determination to blast their way to a small victory in a little-known corner of eastern Ukraine.

Last week, for the first time, Ukrainian forces launched a series of coordinated counterattacks and in a matter of days won back territory north and south of the city that it had taken Russian forces months to capture. Ukrainian soldiers hope they have now turned the tide in the battle and can continue moving forward.

"Everything is better when we start kicking these Russians out," said Omar, who asked to be identified only by his call sign in accordance with military protocol.

But inside Bakhmut, soldiers fighting to hold onto the last few destroyed buildings they control in the western corner of the ruined city said on Saturday that it remained a place of incomprehensible violence.

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian troops west of Bakhmut. "Everything is better when we start kicking these Russians out," one soldier said. Russia still controls about 90 percent of the city.

"It is too early to talk about successes in the city itself," said a member of a platoon rotating out of Bakhmut. He was one of 16 soldiers waiting for a military transport in Chasiv Yar after a month-long tour. "We need more Javelins," he said, referring to the U.S.-made missiles supplied to Ukraine. "Russian tanks are giving us nightmares."

Chasiv Yar, about six miles to the west of Bakhmut, is itself under siege as the two sides trade volleys of artillery and rockets. It is now the next line of defense for Ukraine if the Russians were to take Bakhmut and continue advancing west.

"Our troops are gradually advancing in two directions in the suburbs of Bakhmut," Hanna Mailar, a Ukrainian deputy minister of defense, said in a statement on Saturday night. She said active hostilities made it impossible to give precise details about the state of the fighting but claimed that the Ukrainians "are destroying the enemy and have already taken many prisoners."

"The situation in the city itself is more complicated," she said.

Since December alone, the United States estimates that more than 20,000 Russian soldiers have been killed in fighting in Ukraine, many around Bakhmut, the National Security Council spokesman, John Kirby, said this month. A further 80,000 have been wounded, he said.

The Ukrainians are now seeking to exploit those losses by attacking the positions around the city that they lost in the winter and trying to encircle the Russian forces inside the ruins of Bakhmut.

Russian forces control more than 90 percent of the city, according to Russian and Ukrainian officials, but the Ukrainians are keeping them from taking the last bit of land and advancing on Chasiv Yar.

Under the shelter of a battered bus stop in Chasiv Yar, a platoon of soldiers rotating out of Bakhmut did not flinch as outgoing artillery boomed and incoming rockets thundered close by. They had faced much worse.

The commander of the 24th Motorized Rifle Brigade, who goes by the call sign Prince, said on Saturday that after taking a short tactical pause, Russian forces were furiously assaulting the city again.

"Artillery fire, rocket and airstrikes do not stop for a minute," he said. "Every meter of the city is now under shelling."

The brigade released a photo of the devastation taken by a drone on Saturday that they said captured the annihilation of Bakhmut. The outlines of foundations of what used to be homes and businesses were shrouded in a soupy fog that the brigade said was smoke from fires and shelling. The authenticity of the photo could not be independently confirmed, but it tracks with reports from those who have been in the devastated city.

For the last week, sometimes twice a night, the Ukrainian soldiers said, Russians have been using incendiary munitions to force them from their positions.

The Ukrainians claim that the bombs are phosphorus munitions, which are banned under international law when used against civilians but not when used against military targets, and can burn at temperatures over 1,400 Fahrenheit.

The smell of fire and smoke hung heavy in Chasiv Yar on Saturday as the shellfire shook the valley below. There were fresh impact craters on streets around the town.

There were only a handful of civilians, mostly older people, on the streets. They went about their business as a steady stream of armored vehicles and tanks rumbled past, heading into battle.

"We feel so bad for them," Marcello, one of the soldiers, said of the few remaining civilians in Bakhmut. "There was a 92-year-old babushka who was injured, and we put her on the stretcher and helped get her out."

As they waited for their own ride to safer ground, they were just learning that the Russians outside that city were reported to be suffering a series of defeats.

"Finally," one soldier said.

Thai Voters Overwhelmingly Back Two Opposition Parties, Rejecting Military

By SUI-LEE WEE
and MUKTITA SUHARTONO

JACK TAYLOR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Pita Limjaroenrat, head of the Move Forward Party and a prime minister candidate, in Bangkok on Sunday. His party won 151 seats.

BANGKOK — Voters in Thailand overwhelmingly sought to end nearly a decade of military rule on Sunday, casting ballots in favor of two opposition parties that have pledged to curtail the power of the country's powerful conservative institutions: the military and the monarchy.

With 97 percent of the votes counted early Monday morning, the progressive Move Forward Party was neck and neck with the populist Pheu Thai Party. Move Forward had won 151 seats to Pheu Thai's 141 in the 500-seat House of Representatives.

In most parliamentary systems, the two parties would form a new governing coalition and choose a prime minister. But under the rules of the current Thai system, written by the military after its 2014 coup, the junta will still play kingmaker.

The election had widely been seen as an easy victory for Pheu Thai, the country's largest opposition party founded by former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. A billionaire tycoon, Mr. Thaksin, 73, was ousted in a coup in 2006 after accusations of corruption, but he is still fondly remembered as a populist champion for the rural poor. Polls had showed that Mr. Thaksin's youngest daughter, Paetongtarn Shinawatra, 36, was the leading choice for prime minister.

But in a surprise, the Move Forward Party, a progressive political party that called for upending old power structures and amending a law that criminalizes public criticism of the monarchy, made stunning strides, capturing young urban voters, and the capital, Bangkok.

"We can frame this election as a referendum on traditional power centers in Thai politics," said Napon Jatusripitak, a visiting fellow at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. "People want change, and not just a change of government, they want structural reform."

The key question that many Thais now have is whether the military establishment, which has long kept an iron grip on Thailand's politics, will accept the result.

Move Forward has targeted institutions and policies once considered sacrosanct in Thai society, including mandatory military conscription and the laws that protect the king from criticism. And having the Pheu Thai Party in government could effectively place the party's founder and one of the military's top rivals, Mr. Thaksin, back at the center of the country's politics.

The results were a humbling blow for Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha, the general who governed Thailand for almost nine years, the longest stretch of military governance in a country used to coups.

Mr. Prayuth has presided over a lagging economy, and in 2020 waged a harsh crackdown on protesters who gathered in the streets of Bangkok to call for democratic reforms. Although Thailand is one of two formal U.S. allies in Southeast Asia, he distanced himself from Washington and leaned closer to Beijing.

As of early Monday, it remained unclear who would ultimately lead the country. The junta rewrote the country's Constitution in 2017 so that selecting the prime minister would come down to a joint vote between the 250-member military-appointed Senate and the popularly elected House of Representatives. The decision could take weeks or months.

ATHIT PERAWONGMETHA/REUTERS

Paetongtarn Shinawatra, center right, a leader in the Pheu Thai party, which won 141 seats in the House of Representatives.

Because both Pheu Thai and Move Forward do not have enough seats to form a majority, they will need to negotiate with each other and other parties to establish a coalition.

Analysts said Move Forward's stance on changing the royal protection law might complicate negotiations for forming a coalition. Before the vote, Move Forward attempted to moderate its position on the measure, toning down its calls for reform.

But on Sunday, Pita Limjaroenrat, the leader of Move Forward, made it clear that the amendment was still high on his party's agenda, saying they now have enough members of Parliament to push it forward.

"So it's not conditional, it's already absolute that we are going with it," he said.

Mr. Pita, 42, a former businessman, was fielded as Move Forward's leader after the country's Constitutional Court dissolved the party's previous iteration, the Future Forward Party, in 2020, and barred the party's senior executives from politics for 10 years. A graduate of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. Pita is a charismatic speaker, who called on voters to create "a new history in Thai politics."

His background as a technocrat contrasts with the leading contender from Pheu Thai, which has sought to promote Ms. Paetongtarn, Mr. Thaksin's youngest daughter.

Ms. Paetongtarn, an executive in her family's hotel management company with little political experience, was selected to run after her father said people "wanted to see a Shinawatra family representative as a force in the party."

She proved to be an effective campaigner, stumping even in the last weeks of her pregnancy. (She gave birth on May 1 and quickly returned to the campaign trail.)

The strong showing for Move Forward was remarkable for a party that was thought to be too radical for the general population. Move Forward ran on a platform that included legalizing same-sex marriage and a $13 daily minimum wage.

The election was cast as an existential struggle for the future of the country. Both Pheu Thai and Move Forward campaigned on pledges to return Thailand to the path of electoral democracy, calling on people to reject the "uncles" or the "Three Ps," referring to the generals who have governed Thailand since the coup: Mr. Prayuth, Deputy Prime Minister General Prawit "Pom" Wongsuwan and Interior Minister General Anupong "Pok" Paochinda.

Move Forward was even more emphatic in saying that it would never work with military-backed parties, a stance that drew more voters to the party. Several youths who had joined the 2020 protests campaigned as first-time candidates for Move Forward in the election.

On Sunday, millions of Thais lined up in roughly 100-degree heat to cast their vote.

"I really hope for change," said Saisunee Chawasirikunthon, 48, an employee at a telecommunications company. "We have lived with the same old thing for the past eight years."

"We don't need change that flips the country," he said.

For the past century, Thailand has swung between civilian democracy and military control, with the armed forces engineering a dozen coups within that period. On Thursday, Narongpan Jitkaewthae, Thailand's army chief, took pains to assure the public that things would be different this time.

He said that the country had learned its lessons from its past, and that "politics in a democratic system must continue," although he added that he "cannot guarantee" that another coup would not happen.

In Thailand, a Referendum on Tradition

By SUI-LEE WEE

BANGKOK — Thai voters headed to the polls on Sunday in a hotly contested election that will determine whether Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha, the general who seized power in a coup in 2014, is unseated by his rivals.

An observer of Thai politics has called the election the most consequential one in his lifetime.

Opinion polls show that many voters want change, backing opposition parties that have promised to restore democratic rule in Thailand and roll back some of the authoritarian policies introduced by Mr. Prayuth.

There is a broad sentiment that Mr. Prayuth has done little to boost the economy after nine years in power. His harsh crackdown on pro-democracy protests in Bangkok in 2020 has also alienated many voters.

"If we end up with more or less the same kind of government that we've had for years, there'll be a lot of unhappiness, a lot of grievances in Thailand," said Thitinan Pongsudhirak, a political scientist at Chulalongkorn University, referring to the country's economic stagnation.

Here is what you need to know about the election.

Who is the front-runner?

Paetongtarn Shinawatra, of the populist Pheu Thai Party, is the current front-runner for prime minister, according to most opinion polls. The 36-year-old — known in Thailand as "Ung Ing" — is the daughter of Thaksin Shinawatra, and much of her appeal rests on her family name.

Mr. Thaksin was prime minister from 2001 to 2006 and is still fondly remembered by many Thais for starting a $1 universal health care program and for distributing subsidies to farmers. Since 2001, the populist political parties he founded, including Pheu Thai, have consistently won the most votes in every election.

But Mr. Thaksin, a billionaire tycoon, remains widely disliked by wealthy conservatives and the military. The army overthrew him in a coup in 2006, and Mr. Thaksin fled the country. (His sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, also met a similar fate eight years later, after her tenure as prime minister.) Mr. Thaksin, who lives mostly in Dubai, was sentenced in absentia to 12 years for corruption and abuse of power.

Ms. Paetongtarn's rise has fueled questions about whether she would bring her father back to Thailand, and many Thais are now bracing for a possible repeat of the instability that defined the two previous Shinawatra administrations.

Ms. Paetongtarn, who gave birth to a baby boy on May 1 before immediately returning to the campaign trail, is also facing stiff competition from Pita Limjaroenrat, a candidate with the progressive Move Forward Party. In one recent poll, Mr. Pita emerged as the top choice for prime minister.

What does the electoral process look like?

The prime minister is not selected through popular vote, but by the 500-member House of Representatives and the 250-member military-appointed Senate.

In 2019, the Senate backed Mr. Prayuth unanimously and is likely to align itself with a military proxy candidate again. If it votes as a bloc, an opposition politician would need to cobble together a huge majority in the lower house — at least 376 votes — to lead the country.

Already, Senator Wanchai Sornsiri has said he and a group of fellow senators "definitely would not choose" Ms. Paetongtarn as prime minister. But it remains unclear whom exactly the military would choose.

The vote could be split.

One major surprise this election was the separation of Mr. Prayuth from his comrade-in-arms, Deputy Prime Minister Prawit Wongsuwan. Mr. Prayuth joined the United Thai Nation Party, which was established solely to field him as a candidate in the election. Mr. Prawit stayed with Palang Pracharath, Mr. Prayuth's former party.

Pheu Thai, the populist party of the former prime minister's daughter, has been dogged by speculation that it could combine forces to form a coalition with the party of Mr. Prawit. He is widely considered one of the most powerful politicians in Thailand and was the previous army chief under Mr. Thaksin.

Pheu Thai has consistently denied these rumors, but many skeptical Thais say they would vote for the progressive Move Forward Party to prevent such an outcome.

What are the major issues?

The Move Forward Party has proposed amending a strict law that forbids defaming, insulting or threatening the king and other members of the royal family in Thailand after the authorities charged more than 200 people for violating the law during mass pro-democracy protests in Bangkok in 2020.

Conviction under the law, known as Article 112, carries a minimum sentence of three years and a maximum sentence of up to 15. It is the only crime in Thailand for which a minimum jail term is imposed.

Bread-and-butter issues are also at the forefront of voters' minds. Thailand's tourism-dependent economy was hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic, and the country reported the slowest economic growth last year among other major economies in Southeast Asia.

This is why nearly every political party is relying on populist policies, such as cash handouts and subsidies, to lure voters.

How does the military come into play?

If history is any indicator, the military, which has dominated Thai politics for decades, is unlikely to relinquish power easily.

In addition to engineering a dozen coups within a century, Thai generals rewrote the Constitution in 2017 to stack the Senate with allies and ensure that the military would have the power to determine the country's prime minister.

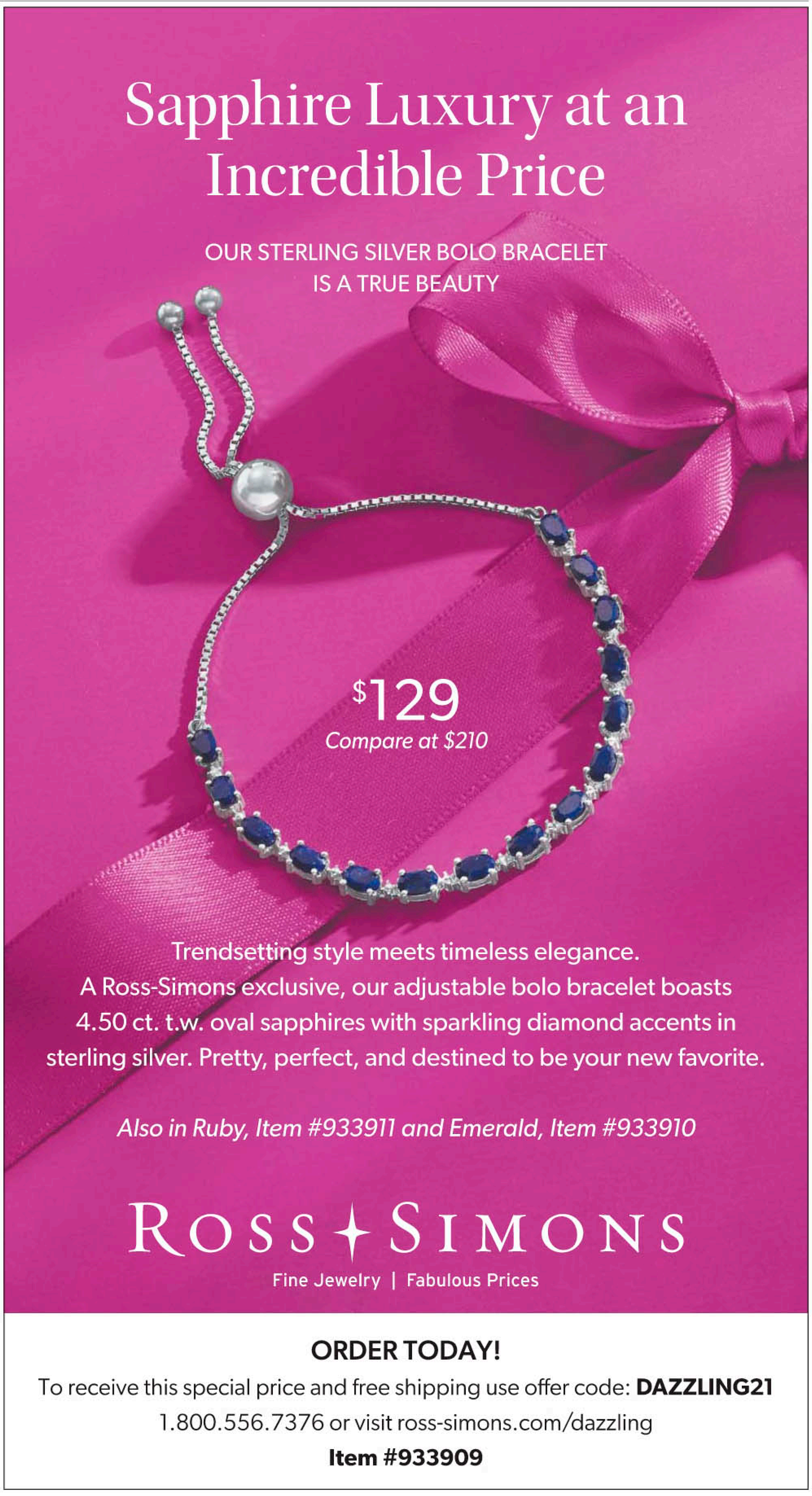
Even if Mr. Prayuth loses the popular vote, he could still end up with the top job, leading a minority government.

"When everything is so well planned, I don't think we can be optimistic about change after this election," said Titipol Phakdeewanich, a political scientist at Ubon Ratchathani University.

In 2020, the country's Constitutional Court disbanded the Future Forward Party, the previous iteration of the Move Forward Party, after it unexpectedly finished third in the 2019 elections. Mr. Thaksin's two previous political parties were also dissolved by military leaders. (Conservative officials have also threatened to disband the Move Forward Party this election.)

Wanwichit Boonprong, a political scientist at Rangsit University, said parties have to be wary of the junta's "stealth authoritarianism" after the election. "This will be the great challenge for the new government," he said. "Every step will be watched, will be under scrutiny."

Muktita Suhartono contributed reporting.



Vote Splits in Turkey, Forcing Erdogan Into a Runoff With Kilicdaroglu

From Page A1

SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A polling station in Istanbul. Both sides claimed to be ahead on Sunday night as the vote narrowed. The candidates will face off again in a runoff election on May 28.

referendum on the performance of Mr. Erdogan, Turkey's dominant politician for 20 years.

After he became prime minister in 2003, he presided over a period of tremendous economic growth that transformed Turkish cities and lifted millions of Turks out of poverty. Internationally, he was hailed as a new model of a democratic Islamist, one who was probusiness and wanted strong ties with the West.

But over the past decade, Mr. Erdogan's critics grew both at home and abroad. He faced mass protests against his governing style in 2013, and in 2016, two years after he became president, he survived a coup attempt. Along the way, he seized opportunities to sideline rivals and gather more power into his hands, drawing accusations from the political opposition that he was tipping the country into autocracy.

Since 2018, a sinking currency and inflation that official figures say exceeded 80 percent last year and was 44 percent last month have eroded the value of Turks' savings and salaries.

Mr. Erdogan's inability to clinch a victory in the first round of voting on Sunday confirmed a decline in his standing among voters angry with his stewardship of the economy and his consolidation of power. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger received 31 percent.

On Sunday, one voter, Fatma Cay, said she had supported Mr. Erdogan in the past but did not do so this time, in part because she was angry at how expensive foodstuffs like onions had become.

"He has forgotten where he comes from," said Ms. Cay, 70. "This nation can raise someone up, but we also know how to bring someone down."

Still, she did not flip to Mr. Kilicdaroglu, voting instead for a third candidate, Sinan Ogan, who received about 5 percent of the vote. The elimination of Mr. Ogan could

'This nation can raise someone up, but we also know how to bring someone down.'

FATIMA CAY, 70, a former Erdogan supporter.

give an edge to Mr. Erdogan in the runoff, as Mr. Ogan's right-wing nationalist followers are more likely to prefer him.

Mr. Erdogan remains popular with rural, working class and religious voters, who credit him with developing the country, enhancing its international standing and expanding the rights of devout Muslims in Turkey's staunchly secular state.

"We just love Erdogan," said Halil Karaaslan, a retiree. "He has built everything: roads, bridges and drones. People are comfortable and in peace."

That, Mr. Karaaslan said, was more important than rising prices. "There is no economic crisis," he said. "Sure, things are expensive, but salaries are almost as high. It balances."

Seeking to capitalize on voter frustration, a coalition of six opposition parties came together to challenge Mr. Erdogan, backing a joint candidate, Mr. Kilicdaroglu.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu, a former civil servant who ran Turkey's social security administration before leading Turkey's largest opposition party, campaigned as the antithesis of Mr. Erdogan. Offering a contrast to Mr. Erdogan's tough-guy rhetoric, Mr. Kilicdaroglu filmed campaign videos in his modest kitchen, talking about daily issues like the price of onions.

Sunday's vote was also held to determine the makeup of Turkey's 600-member Parliament, although the results for those seats were not expected until Monday. The Parliament lost significant power when the country changed to a presidential system after a referendum backed by Mr. Erdogan in 2017. The opposition has vowed to return the country to a parliamentary system.

Adding to the importance of these elections for many Turks is that 2023 marks the 100th anniversary of the country's founding as a republic after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. A national celebration is scheduled for the anniversary, on Oct. 29, and the president will preside over it.

A rally for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Istanbul. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger got 31 percent.

The election was also driven by issues that have long polarized Turkish society, like the proper place for religion in a state committed to strict secularism. In his 11 years as prime minister and nine as president, Mr. Erdogan has expanded religious education and eased rules that restricted religious dress.

Derya Akca, 29, cited her desire to cover her hair as a primary reason she supported Mr. Erdogan's Justice and Development Party.

"They defend my freedom to wear a head scarf, which is the most important factor for me," said Ms. Akca, who works in an Istanbul clothing store.

She recalled being so embarrassed after a college professor humiliated her in front of the class that she quit school, a decision she now regrets. "I felt like an outsider," she said. "I now wish I had stayed and fought."

But elsewhere in the city, Deniz Deniz, the co-owner of a bar popular with the city's L.G.B.T.Q. community, bemoaned how the number of such establishments had diminished in the past decade of Mr. Erdogan's tenure.

"I want so much to change," Mr. Deniz said. "I want a country where LGBT+ folk and women aren't rejected. I want an egalitarian and democratic country."

In Turkey's southern region, which was devastated by powerful earthquakes in February that killed more than 50,000 people, many voters took out their anger at the government's response at the ballot box.

"We had an earthquake and the government didn't even intervene," said Rasim Dayanir, a quake survivor who voted for Mr. Kilicdaroglu. "But our minds were made up before the earthquake."

Mr. Dayanir, 25, had fled the city of Antakya, which was largely destroyed in the quake, but returned with eight family members to vote on Sunday.

He stood amid hundreds of voters who had lined up to vote inside of a primary school. Others cast votes in shipping containers that had been set up to replace destroyed polling places. Mr. Dayanir said his uncle, aunt and other members of his family had been killed in the quake.

"We are hopeful," he said. "We believe in change."

Ben Hubbard reported from Ankara, and Gulsin Harman from Istanbul. Elif Ince contributed reporting from Istanbul, Safak Timur from Ankara and Nimet Kirac from Antakya, Turkey.

Myanmar and Bangladesh Sidestep Worst of Cyclone

Officials had feared for thousands in path of Category 5 storm.

*This article is by **John Yoon**, **Judson Jones**, **Jin Yu Young** and **Saif Hasnat**.*

SEOUL — A storm forecast to be the strongest to hit Myanmar in more than a decade made landfall near the country's border with Bangladesh on Sunday, but early reports suggest that it so far has not led to the humanitarian catastrophe that the authorities feared.

The storm moved ashore on Sunday afternoon in the coastal area around Cox's Bazar, according to Bangladesh's meteorological department. The Bangladeshi city is home to the world's largest refugee encampment.

By Sunday morning, maximum sustained winds had reached 160 miles per hour, with gusts surpassing 180 miles per hour, according to the Joint Typhoon Warning Center, making it a Category 5 storm. That is the highest rating on the Saffir-Simpson Scale and indicates potential for catastrophic damage.

Even before the cyclone moved ashore, U Hla Moe, a representative from a rescue team in Tachileik, a city in the country's eastern region, said a landslide caused by heavy rain killed two people in the early hours of Sunday, burying them in their house while they were sleeping.

The local news media reported that at least four more people had died in the western and central regions of the country.

Officials said heavy rains in Bangladesh had caused damage in several areas. About 500 shanties were damaged in the Rohingya camps, while thousands of houses were destroyed or partially damaged in the broader Cox's Bazar and St. Martin areas, the officials said.

Officials and storm watchers expressed cautious hope that the region could be spared the worst as the storm weakened over land.

"Fortunately, the rainfall was not as persistent as we had feared, and no casualties have been reported so far," said Mizanur Rahman, the refugee relief and repatriation commissioner in Cox's Bazar. "Overall, it appears that the damage was not as extensive as we had initially anticipated."

At least 20 villages in the Magway region, along the banks of the Irrawaddy River, are underwater because of a broken dam, affecting at least 100 people who need help, according to local news reports.

The World Food Program was preparing for a large-scale emergency response and positioning food and relief supplies, cars and emergency equipment, the organization said in a statement.

The program has prepared enough food to help more than 400,000 people in Rakhine State, in Myanmar, and neighboring areas for one month. Food is also ready to be dispatched in and around the Rohingya refugee camps.

Mostofa Kamal, a weather and climate researcher at the University of Saskatchewan, wrote on social media that, as the center of the storm began passing between Saint Martin Island and Maungdaw District in Myanmar, the tide was going out. This mitigated the effect of storm surge.

SAI AUNG MAIN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Damage from Cyclone Mocha in Rakhine State, Myanmar, on Sunday. At least six people were reported dead, and about 500 shanties were damaged in the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh Meteorological Center said on Sunday that the center of the cyclone had crossed Cox's Bazar at 3 p.m. and that it would finish crossing the coast by Sunday evening and gradually weaken.

The storm, Cyclone Mocha, formed over the southern part of the Bay of Bengal on Thursday and, as it churned northeast, drenched western Myanmar with heavy rain, strong winds and storm surges, according to the Global Disaster Alert and Coordination System.

Days before the storm hit, Myanmar and Bangladesh began deploying thousands of volunteers and ordering evacuations from low-lying areas, in a region that is home to some of the world's poorest people, who are especially vulnerable to increasingly severe weather events.

"Cyclone Mocha serves as a stark reminder to us of the devastating effects of climate change," the United Nations Development Program in Bangladesh said on Twitter.

In Myanmar, the risk of devastation is compounded by a civil war that has displaced about 1.8 million people across the country, with the region south of the Bangladesh border being an active fighting zone and home to several large refugee camps.

In Cox's Bazar, more than 200,000 people had been sent to 1,600 shelters. There is capacity to accommodate about 500,000 people, according to district officials. More than a million Rohingya people live in the sprawling camps.

With a storm of this intensity, storm surge — the bulge of water that is pushed with the winds as a storm nears the coast — has been a major concern near the cyclone's landfall and to the south of it. Storm surge is often the greatest threat to life and property, according to the Hurricane Center.

Mocha looks likely to be the strongest storm to make landfall in Myanmar since Cyclone Giri in 2010, which packed winds of 143 miles per hour, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's historical cyclone tracks. That storm killed at least 45 people in Myanmar.

The term "cyclone" refers to a type of tropical cyclone — the umbrella term for all such storms, like hurricanes and typhoons — that forms in the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea, which are both in the northern Indian Ocean. Scientists say that climate change has helped intensify storms, because the unusually warm ocean temperatures provide more energy to fuel them.

Cyclone Mocha comes as a deadly heat wave has been searing Southeast Asia for weeks. In April, Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, hit 105.1 degrees Fahrenheit, its highest temperature in six decades.

The Bay of Bengal, in the northeastern part of the Indian Ocean, has had a long history of major storms.

In 2008, Cyclone Nargis became the second-deadliest tropical cyclone on record and the deadliest in Myanmar, killing more than 135,000 people. In 2007, Cyclone Sidr struck Bangladesh, killing more than 3,000 people.

John Yoon and Jin Yu Young reported from Seoul, Judson Jones from New York, and Salif Hasnat from Dhaka, Bangladesh. Emma Bubola and April Rubin contributed reporting.

Cease-Fire but No Resolution of the Conflict Between Gaza and Israel

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — A cease-fire between Israel and Palestinian fighters in the Gaza Strip was largely upheld on Sunday, aside from a brief exchange of fire in the evening, and routine returned hours after the two sides agreed to end a five-day escalation that killed at least 33 people in Gaza and two in Israel.

But across the region, the question was when, rather than if, the cease-fire would break. The escalation, at least the 11th involving Gaza since 2006, came just nine months after the previous days-long battle between Israel and militias in the coastal enclave.

The Israeli military said that a single Palestinian rocket was fired into an open area near Gaza on Sunday evening, causing no damage but reminding residents of the fragility of the truce.

The regional dynamics also remain unstable: Israel's 16-year blockade of Gaza, conducted jointly with Egypt, remains in place, as does its 56-year occupation of the West Bank, both of which fuel Palestinian anger and violence. Hard-line Palestinian militias that officially call for Israel's destruction still dominate Gaza and maintain a strong presence in the West Bank — bolstering the Israeli rationale for exerting control over both territories.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY FATIMA SHBAIR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Damage in Gaza from an airstrike that the Israeli military said targeted a member of the militant group Islamic Jihad. Left, Palestinians celebrated a cease-fire announcement Saturday.

What was the state of the cease-fire on Sunday?

Israel allowed goods, food and people to re-enter Gaza on Sunday morning and permitted thousands of Gaza residents to return to Israel for work on construction sites and farms, after the authorities blocked entry and exit during the escalation last week.

Yet a wider blockade remained in place: Since Hamas gained control of Gaza in 2007, Israel has barred certain imports to the enclave, particularly electronic and computing equipment, fearing that militants might repurpose them as weapons. Israel has also limited most outward travel from Gaza.

In southern Israel, life began to return to normal on Sunday, with schools and roads reopened and bomb shelters having emptied out once the threat of widespread Palestinian rocket fire subsided. But the rocket fire on Sunday evening sent some residents running for cover once again.

In response, Israel said it briefly shelled two militant outposts. No injuries were reported, and Palestinian militant leaders said the rocket was fired in error.

Palestinians once again began a familiar rebuilding operation in Gaza: Officials there said that Israeli airstrikes last week had destroyed or irreparably damaged 100 houses and apartments, and caused less severe damage to more than 900 others.

Why might the truce hold?

For now, Palestinian Islamic Jihad — the Iran-backed militia that led the fight with Israel — seems thwarted. Israeli airstrikes killed several of the group's top commanders, as well as several civilians, and the Israeli military said it had destroyed some of its rocket launchers and rocket arsenal.

Hamas, the larger and better-armed militia that governs the Gaza Strip, did not publicly involve itself in the fighting. Although Hamas has helped stir recent violence in the West Bank and Lebanon, its leaders have recently shown that they do not want to involve their stronghold in Gaza in those campaigns.

Hamas officially seeks Israel's destruction and, like Islamic Jihad, is regarded as a terrorist organization by countries including Israel, Japan and the United States. But it also runs Gaza and needs to alleviate pressure on an economy that is crippled in large part by years of Israeli restrictions on the territory.

Conscious of that balancing act, Israel has issued roughly 20,000 work permits to Gazan laborers over the past two years — providing a crucial source of money and employment to a territory where nearly half of eligible workers are jobless. Experts argue that Hamas does not want to jeopardize that arrangement, at least for now.

Why might the cease-fire collapse?

Islamic Jihad has not been dealt anything close to a fatal blow. Israeli officials estimate that the group still has about 10,000 operatives and several thousand rockets. And while several of the group's leaders were killed last week, it lost a similar number of commanders during the previous escalation last August — and then took less than a year to recover.

Because Islamic Jihad does not govern Gaza, its leaders do not have to worry about maintaining the enclave's economy. That leaves the group freer to fire rockets in response to activity by Israeli security forces in the West Bank and Israel. Israel's arrest of a senior Islamic Jihad leader in the West Bank was one catalyst for the battle last August, and the escalation last week was partly prompted by the death of a second Islamic Jihad leader who was on hunger strike in an Israeli prison.

Hamas's fighters could also start firing rockets if the group feels that Israeli actions cross too many perceived red lines.

The group has threatened to respond to deadly Israeli military operations in Palestinian cities in the West Bank; far-right Israeli marches through Arab areas of Jerusalem; and Israeli police raids on the Aqsa Mosque compound in Jerusalem, a site that is also sacred to Jews, who call it Temple Mount.

Recently, Hamas gunmen killed several Israeli civilians in the West Bank and were accused of firing rockets at Israel from Lebanon. If such attacks rise, Israeli leaders will likely face pressure from hard-liners in their own government to strike Hamas's nerve center in Gaza, raising the risk of retaliatory rocket fire.

What could break the cycle?

Without a full resolution to the wider Israeli-Palestinian conflict, analysts do not foresee any end to the repetitive violence in Gaza.

Although small economic concessions from Israel have helped delay recent episodes of violence and lessen their intensity, they have not removed the major causes of Palestinian anger: Israel's wider economic restrictions on Gaza, its two-tier legal system in the West Bank — and, for the extremist Palestinians who control Gaza, Israel's very existence in the first place.

Moderates on both sides still hope to one day create a Palestinian state alongside Israel, but neither side currently has the ability to restart meaningful peace talks. Israel's far-right leaders reject the idea of Palestinian independence, and the country's small peace camp has little chance of gaining power. The Palestinian Authority, which administers parts of the West Bank in coordination with Israel, was forced out of Gaza in 2007 by Hamas, which does not recognize Israel.

A cartoon published on Sunday in a leading Israeli newspaper, Yediot Ahronot, summarized the mood.

"We've got to wrap up this operation in Gaza," the Israeli army chief, Herzi Halevi, was depicted as telling a cartoon version of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "Because soon we've got the next operation in Gaza."

Gabby Sobelman contributed reporting from Rehovot, Israel; and Myra Noveck and Isabel Kershner from Jerusalem.

Pentagon Not Required to Vet Foreign Proxy Forces for Human Rights Violations

By CHARLIE SAVAGE and ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON — U.S. Special Operations forces are not required to vet for past human rights violations by the foreign troops they arm and train as surrogates, newly disclosed documents show.

While the gap in rules governing vetting for a counterterrorism program have previously been reported based on anonymous sources, the documents provide official confirmation. Under the program, American commandos pay, train and equip foreign partner forces and then dispatch them on kill-or-capture operations.

The documents, including two sets of directives obtained by The New York Times through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit, also show a similar gap exists in another Pentagon surrogate force program for so-called irregular warfare. It is aimed at disrupting nation-state rivals via operations that fall short of full armed conflict — including sabotage, hacking and information campaigns like propaganda or clandestine efforts to shape morale.

While the Pentagon is more open about security cooperation in which it assists allies and partners in expanding their own capacities, it rarely discusses its use of surrogates, or the foreign troops with whom Special Operations forces work to pursue specific American objectives. The documents open a window on how the programs function and what rules govern them.

Proxy forces are an increasingly important part of American foreign policy. Over the past decade, the United States has increasingly relied on supporting or deputizing local partner forces in places like Niger and Somalia, moving away from deploying large numbers of American ground troops as it did in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Even as that strategic shift is meant to reduce the risk of American casualties and blowback from being seen as occupiers, training and arming local forces creates other hazards.

The disclosures underscored a need for tighter rules on proxy forces, Representative Sara Jacobs, Democrat of California, argued. "We need to make sure that we are not training abusive units to become even more lethal and fueling the conflict and violence that we're aiming to solve," she said. "And that starts with universal human rights vetting."

Last year, she and Senator Chris Van Hollen, Democrat of Maryland, sponsored an amendment to a defense bill to require human rights vetting of surrogate forces that passed the House but not the Senate. She said she planned to introduce a more comprehensive bill to tighten such rules.

A senior Defense Department official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive operations, said that all members of a proxy force were already subjected to extensive screening to ensure that they would not attack or spy on American forces. The official maintained that vetting was sufficient to weed out bad actors.

Lt. Col. Cesar Santiago-Santini, a Pentagon spokesman, said in a statement to The Times that the department had found "no verifiable gross violations of human rights" by participants of either proxy force program.

Katherine Yon Ebright, a counsel with the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University's law school who has written critically about both programs, said that Pentagon officials have sent mixed signals about whether surrogate forces are vetted for past human rights violations, with current and former officials sometimes contradicting one another.

"It's very helpful now to have these internal policies in hand that definitively show that human rights vetting is not required," Ms. Ebright said. "It's been frustrating, the more you know about this, because of those mixed messages and the opacity."

> *Special Operations rules shed light on a shadowy war power.*

The Pentagon keeps secret much about its proxy force operations.

In February, the Government Accountability Office completed a report titled "Special Operations: Overarching Guidance Needed to Oversee and Assess Use of Surrogate Forces to Combat Terrorism," but everything about it beyond its title is classified. (The Times is seeking a declassification review under the Freedom of Information Act.)

The Pentagon also will not disclose a comprehensive list of partner forces and the countries in which they are operating. The Defense Department official said the list is classified primarily because of its sensitivity to partners, citing situations in which a foreign government has agreed but wants to keep its participation quiet for its own domestic political reasons.

The documents obtained by The Times include directives for two programs that are named for the laws that authorize them. The Section 127e program, commonly called 127 Echo, can spend up to $100 million a year on counterterrorism proxies. The Section 1202 program is authorized to spend up to $15 million a year on surrogates for irregular warfare.

The rules lay out the process by which special operators propose developing a new partner force, which is ultimately up to the secretary of defense. The State Department's chief of mission in the affected country — if there is one — must also concur, but the rules do not require consulting the secretary of state in Washington. The programs cannot be used for covert operations.

The laws creating the two programs do not provide free-standing operational authority, the documents say. They do not detail the scope and limits on whom the programs can target.

For the counterterrorism program, the proxy force must be used against an adversary deemed to be covered by the Authorization for Use of Military Force that Congress enacted after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, the senior Defense Department official said. The executive branch has interpreted that law as a legal basis to wage an armed conflict against Al Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Somali group Al Shabab.

It is unclear whether the program has always been limited to groups covered by the force authorization. Reporting by The Intercept and Politico has suggested that the Pentagon may have used the program to support a force in Cameroon battling both an ISIS affiliate and Boko Haram, a group not deemed to be covered by the authorization. However, some Boko Haram members also have ISIS links.

The irregular warfare program has provided training to allied forces in countries that face a threat of invasion by larger neighbors, the senior Defense Department official said. The Washington Post has reported that an irregular warfare proxy program in Ukraine was terminated just before the Russian invasion, and some officials want to restart it.

The directives also describe the vetting that allied partners must undergo before American taxpayers pay their salaries and put weapons and specialized military equipment, like night-vision goggles, in their hands.

Screening includes collecting people's DNA; analyzing phone call logs, travel histories, social media posts and social contacts; checking local and national records for derogatory information; and conducting security interviews. Leaders who will come into greater contact with American troops and learn more about their plans must also undergo behavioral health interviews and lie-detector tests.

But the purpose of this vetting is to detect counterintelligence risks and potential threats to American forces. The directive does not mention violations of human rights — such as rape, torture or extrajudicial killings.

The irregular warfare directive is less detailed about vetting. But it explicitly says, "The provision of support under Section 1202 is not contingent upon successful human rights vetting requirements as defined in" a statute with a rule known as the Leahy Law.

The Leahy Law, named after former Senator Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, bans security assistance to units of foreign militaries or other security forces that have a history of gross violations of human rights.

Still, Colonel Santiago-Santini, the Pentagon spokesman, said in his statement that the department was "confident that our vetting system for Section 127e and 1202 programs would reveal any human rights concerns with potential recipients."

At first, the Pentagon's version of the Leahy Law applied only to training. But in 2014, Congress expanded it to providing equipment and other assistance. But in a memo that year signed by Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel and obtained by The Times separately from the information act lawsuit, the Pentagon declared that the Leahy Law did not apply to counterterrorism surrogates.

The memo said that enabling proxy forces to help Special Forces counterterrorism operations is "not assistance" to the foreigners. This purported distinction — that building up proxy forces so they can assist the United States in pursuing its objectives is legally different from assisting foreign partners in building up their own security abilities — is disputed.

A critic of that theory is Sarah Harrison, who worked as a Pentagon lawyer from 2017 to 2021 and is now at the International Crisis Group, where she has called for requiring human rights vetting of surrogate forces. She argued that the Pentagon's narrow interpretation of the Leahy Law is "a dishonest reading of the plain text and intention of Congress."

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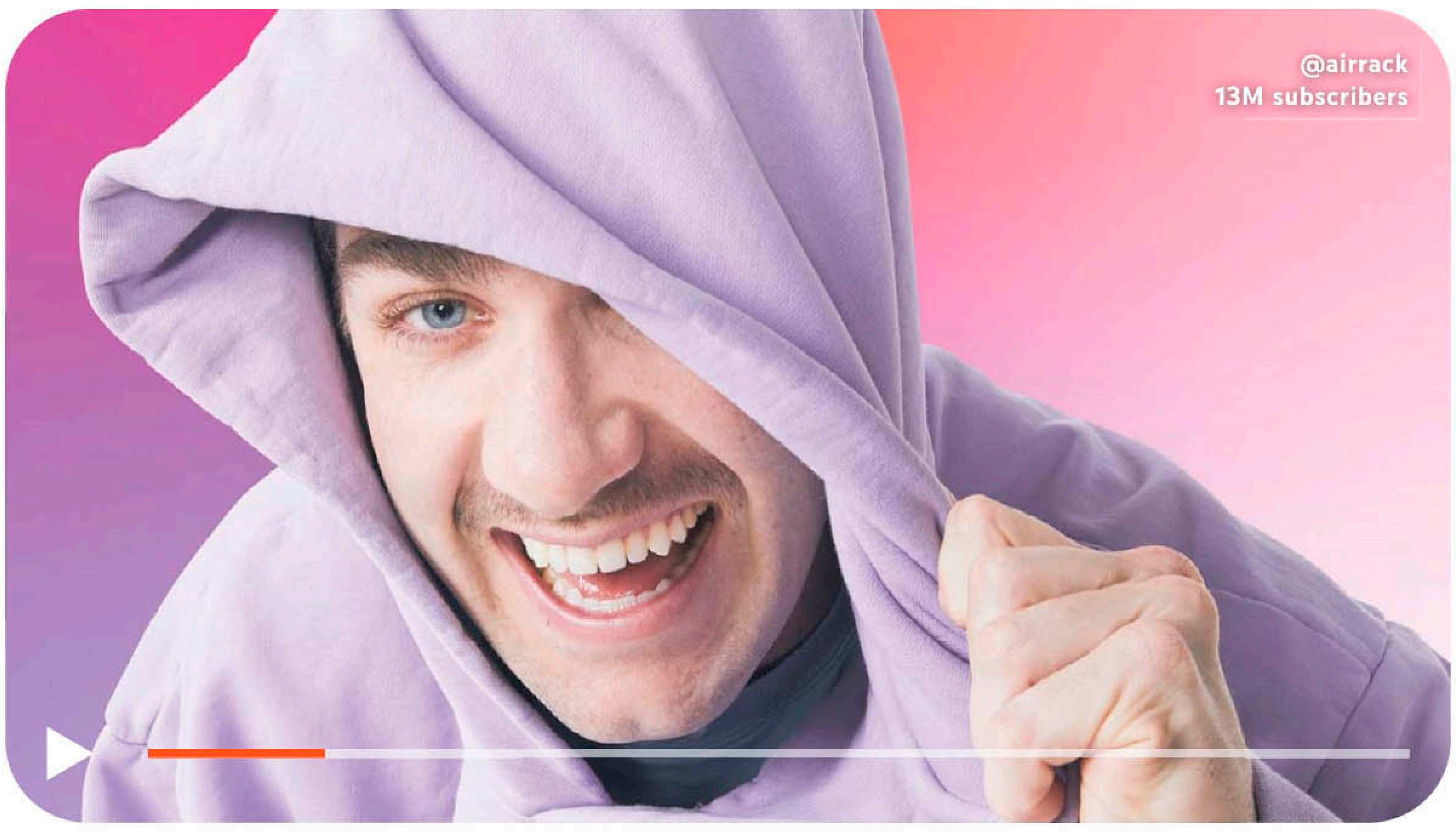

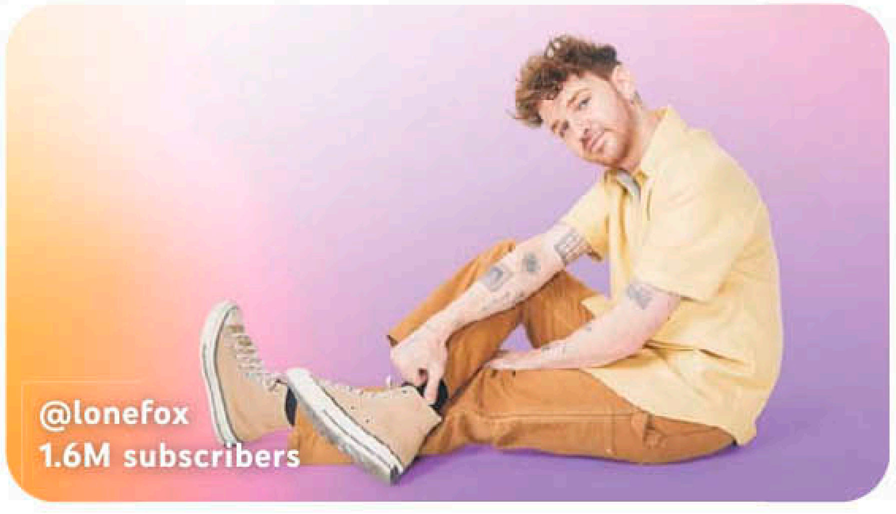

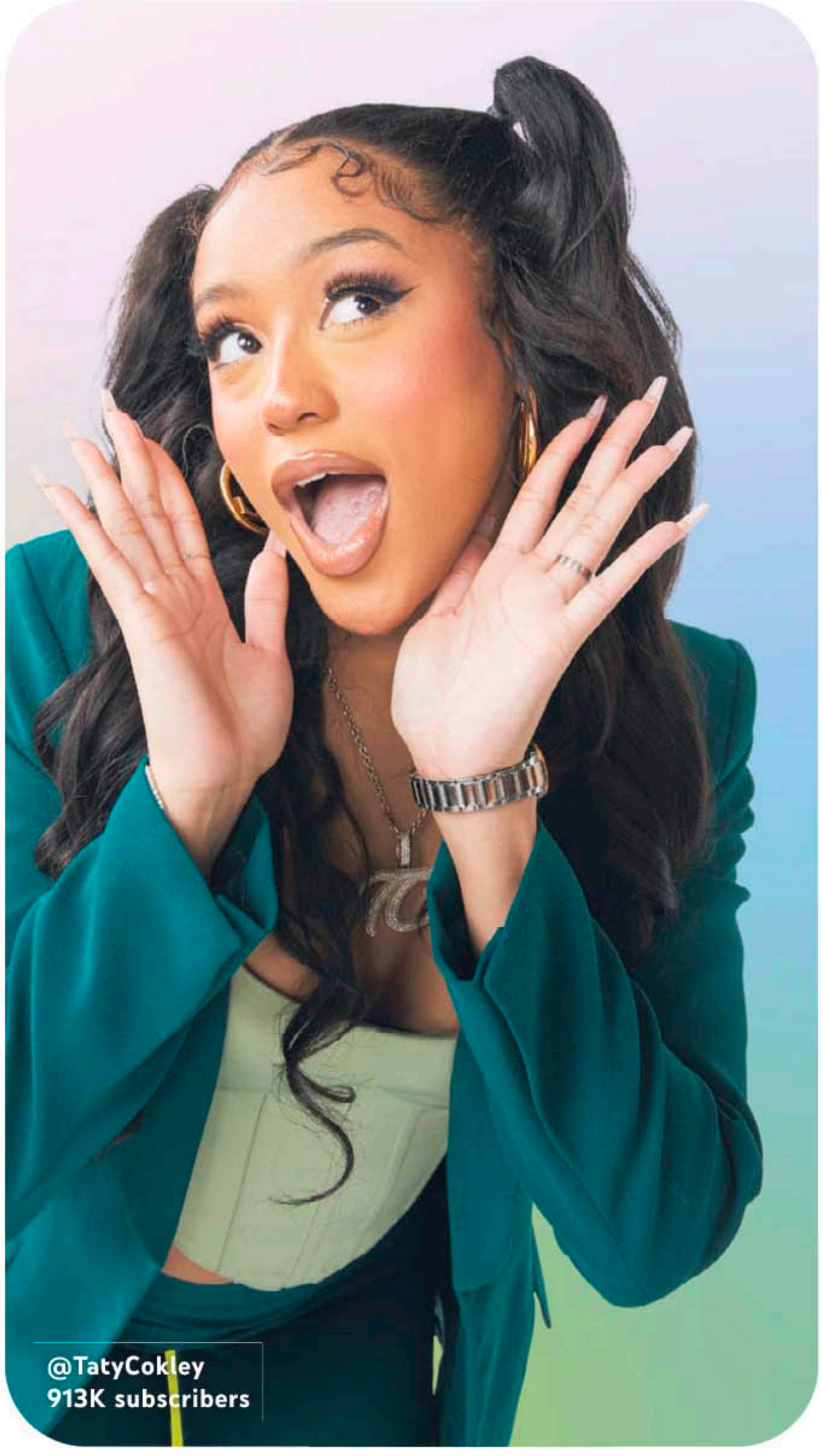
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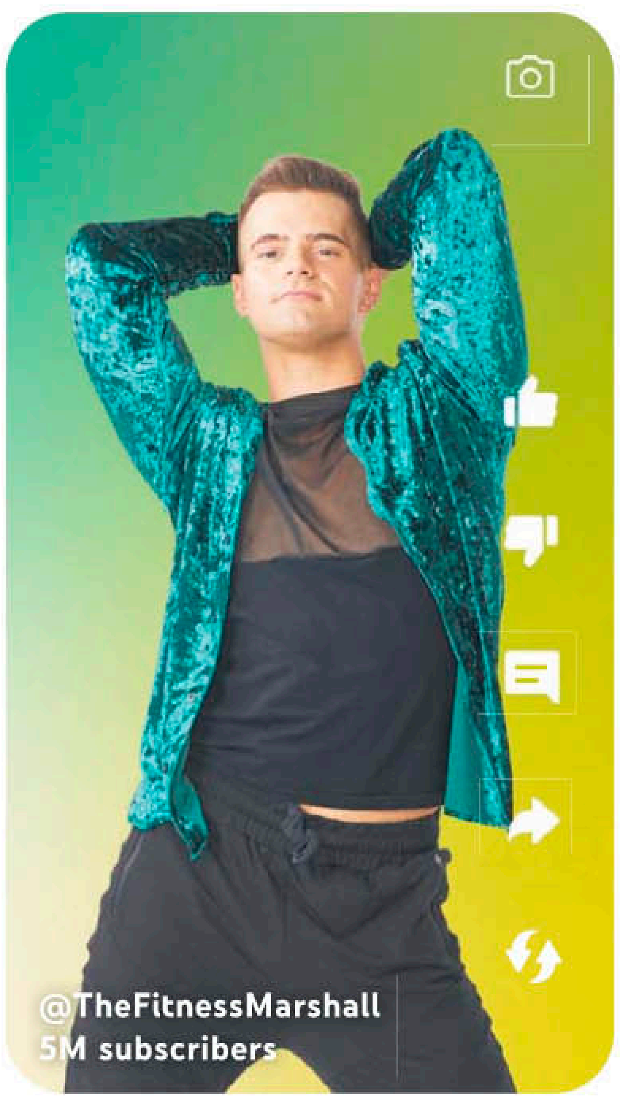
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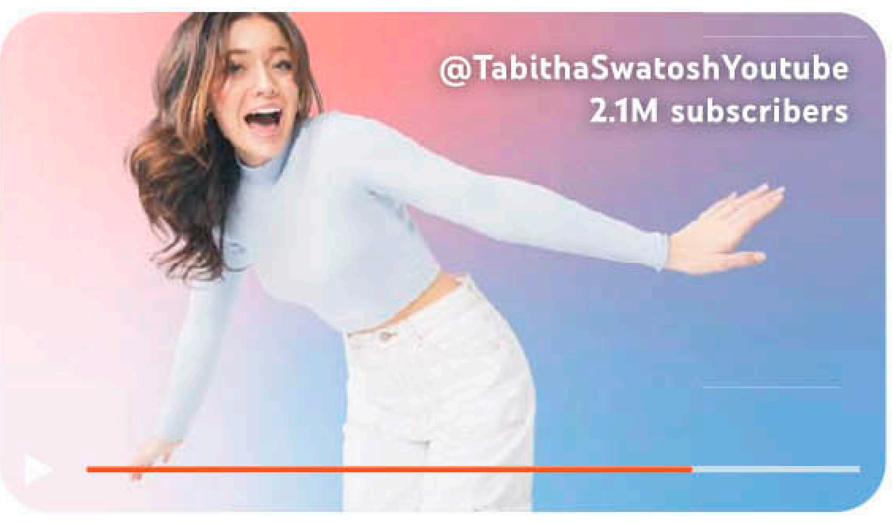
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Brandcast

An Island Nation Strives to Go Green, but Oil and Gas Come First

From Page A1

social programs.

President Biden and European leaders have no easy response. Industrialized countries are still producers and users of fossil fuels and have failed to put up the $100 billion a year they had pledged to a green fund for poor nations starting in 2020.

"The countries in the south are telling the countries in the north, 'You are the ones who caused the climate issue, so why don't you move first since you have the capital and technologies to advance renewables?'" said Anthony Paul, a former official in Trinidad's energy ministry who has consulted with governments and companies in several African countries.

Trinidad has a population of just 1.5 million people, but it has long punched above its weight in energy. As the second largest exporter of liquefied natural gas in the Western Hemisphere after the United States, it has one of the highest per capita incomes in the Caribbean. It is also a leading producer of petrochemicals like ammonia and methanol.

But with its oil and gas fields aging, oil production has fallen to 58,000 barrels a day, from 230,000 barrels a day at its peak in 1978. The country's only oil refinery was shut down four years ago. Gas production has declined 40 percent since 2010, forcing the country to close one of its four export terminals for liquefied natural gas and three of its 18 petrochemical plants.

At the same time, the country is feeling the effects of a changing climate, with wetter rainy seasons and dryer dry seasons reducing farm yields and stormier seas punishing fishermen and flooding coastal roads and homes.

"We're facing a huge decision, whether to pivot to a new direction," said Ryun Singh, president of the Trinidad and Tobago Association of Energy Engineers. "If we don't get it right, we face economic ruin."

For now, Mr. Rowley's government wants to double down on fossil fuels by trying to get energy companies to develop new offshore fields.

The oil and gas business "is the basis for our middle class," said Ainka Granderson, an environmental scientist at the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute, a research organization in San Juan, a city on the main island. "Oil and gas was once the nation's spine, but it's now the crutch that props us up."

That crutch is becoming increasingly rickety.

On a recent April afternoon, a tanker ship arrived at the Atlantic LNG terminal at Point Fortin to pick up a load of deep-chilled gas for Britain. "Trinidad to the rescue," said a smiling Jean Andre Celestain, the plant's chief operating officer.

But because the country's gas production has been declining, the plant fills just one tanker every 66 hours these days, down from one every 48 hours four years ago.

"There is an urgency to get gas supply," said Ronald Adams, Atlantic LNG's chief executive.

Oil companies have found some new small fields, but analysts still expect production to decline over the next few years.

Because of declining energy export earnings, the nation's gross domestic product dropped by 20 percent from 2015 to 2021. The jump in oil and gas prices after Russia's invasion of Ukraine and a new gas discovery by Shell have led to a small rebound over the past year.

But that is not enough to stem the decline in energy production and revenues, energy experts say.

Clockwise, from top: Yara Trinidad, an ammonia producer, is working to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by replacing gas with water in its production process; the control room at the Atlantic LNG terminal; and the Desalcott desalination plant, one of Trinidad and Tobago's largest consumers of electricity.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In an effort to compensate for the shortfall, the country is seeking to reduce domestic use of natural gas so more can be exported. That is the main mission of the solar farms being built on Trinidad by BP and Shell. To drive down domestic demand for gas, energy regulators are proposing to raise electricity rates for residents and businesses. That proposal faces stiff political opposition.

"When you are an oil-and-gas-producing nation, you are always behind in renewables because people enjoy the cheaper rates of electricity that come with fossil fuels," said David Alexander, a professor of petroleum engineering at the University of Trinidad and Tobago.

Dr. Alexander and another professor are leading an effort to map a "carbon-capture atlas" of depleted oil and gas fields that can be used to store carbon captured from Trinidadian petrochemical plants to help the country offset most or all of its greenhouse gas emissions.

There are other plans to try to turn Trinidad and Tobago away from gas and oil. Some entrepreneurs said the country should become a major exporter of products made from renewable energy like hydrogen, fertilizers and clean shipping fuel.

A homegrown energy company, Kenesjay Green, is working to produce hydrogen in the Point Lisas petrochemical complex. The company plans to use renewable energy and waste heat from power plants to split hydrogen from water. "Trinidad is uniquely poised to take off in the energy transition dramatically," said Philip Julien, chairman of Kenesjay. "There's huge potential and a lot of work to be done."

Kenesjay is working with Yara Trinidad, an ammonia producer, to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by replacing gas with water in its production process. Yara Trinidad hopes that it can eventually reopen one of the three ammonia plants it mothballed because of a lack of gas supplies.

Although the government supports these efforts, its focus remains on natural gas. "Gas is going to be around for decades, all right?" Stuart Young, Trinidad and Tobago's energy minister, said in an interview.

To increase gas production and exports, the country is pinning its hopes on new offshore fields. One, the Manatee field adjacent to the maritime border with Venezuela, is being developed by Shell.

Just over the maritime border, there is a medium-size shallow-water field called Dragon. Trinidad and Venezuela have been negotiating for five years about how to produce and export the Dragon gas. Shell would operate the field, and a pipeline could connect the field to Trinidad and Tobago's export terminals in three to four years.

But first, Trinidad must reach a deal with the Biden administration and the Venezuelan government that would allow Trinidad to export natural gas from the Dragon field in Venezuela without violating U.S. sanctions.

The Biden administration granted a two-year license to the Trinidadian government to do business with Venezuela in January, but only if the government of President Nicolás Maduro of Venezuela did not receive cash payments. Trinidad and Tobago has offered to pay for the gas in food and medicine, but Mr. Maduro has rejected that offer.

Another potential prospect is the Calypso field, off the coast of the island of Tobago, which could be the nation's first deepwater gas field.

Woodside Energy, an Australian company, is developing Calypso with BP. But Calypso's geology is complicated. The field is made up of unconnected pockets of gas, meaning that multiple wells would be needed, making drilling more expensive. "We're working through the concepts and trying to figure out how do we get something that will work for everybody," said Meg O'Neill, chief executive of Woodside.

Analysts said Trinidad needed to move fast or risk losing gas customers to other exporters, like the United States and Qatar, that are building more efficient liquefied natural gas terminals.

That might be a tall order, and even some Trinidadians who have long worked in oil and gas worry that little can be done to halt their industry's decline.

Ronnie Beharry worked in various field positions before becoming a manager at a gas field operated by Touchstone Exploration. He has only a high school education but can afford to send his eldest daughter to college.

"I tell them to look at other options because we've started to go green," he said, referring to his three children. "I don't know where things are headed. Sometimes I think the country has a backup plan, and sometimes I don't."

Trinidad Faces Warmer, Wetter Weather, Spurring Debate Over Its Fossil Fuel Use

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

CARLI BAY, Trinidad and Tobago — Imtiaz Khan remembers the rains of his childhood as being light and providing welcome relief from the summer heat. A heavy shower, he said, would arrive only about once a month during the rainy season.

Now 48, and president of the Carli Bay Fishing Association, Mr. Khan said the rains were something to dread. Storms are so regular, he said, there is serious flooding every year. The heavy downpours carry sediment into the bay, turning the sea cloudy and brown. Mangrove nurseries have been washed away. Clams, oysters, mussels and many species of fish are in decline.

"The fish go where there is more food and where they can reproduce," Mr. Khan said. "That's not here anymore."

Trinidad and Tobago is facing a familiar challenge. Its leaders believe that oil and gas production are vital to the economy, but exploitation of those resources is causing climate change, which is taking an especially hard toll on the people and environment.

Like other Trinidadians, Mr. Khan takes a middle-of-the-road approach to climate change and fossil fuels, which he doesn't want to eliminate because they have helped lift the living standards in his country. "You can't stop the oil and gas, but we need a better balance," he said.

He noted that the fishermen need to sail out farther and farther beyond the bay to get their catch, and they were in ever fiercer competition with fishermen from neighboring Venezuela, as a result.

To the south, on the beach at the L'Anse Mitan fishing village, the beach erosion is so severe that a large statue of St. Peter is on the verge of collapse. Storms and currents are coming to shore so strongly that the fishermen have started to beach their boats in the high grass.

"Everyone's pulling in their boats and staying home," said Bernard Hospedales, a local fisherman.

The Trinidadian government highlighted the country's climate challenges in a 2021 report to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

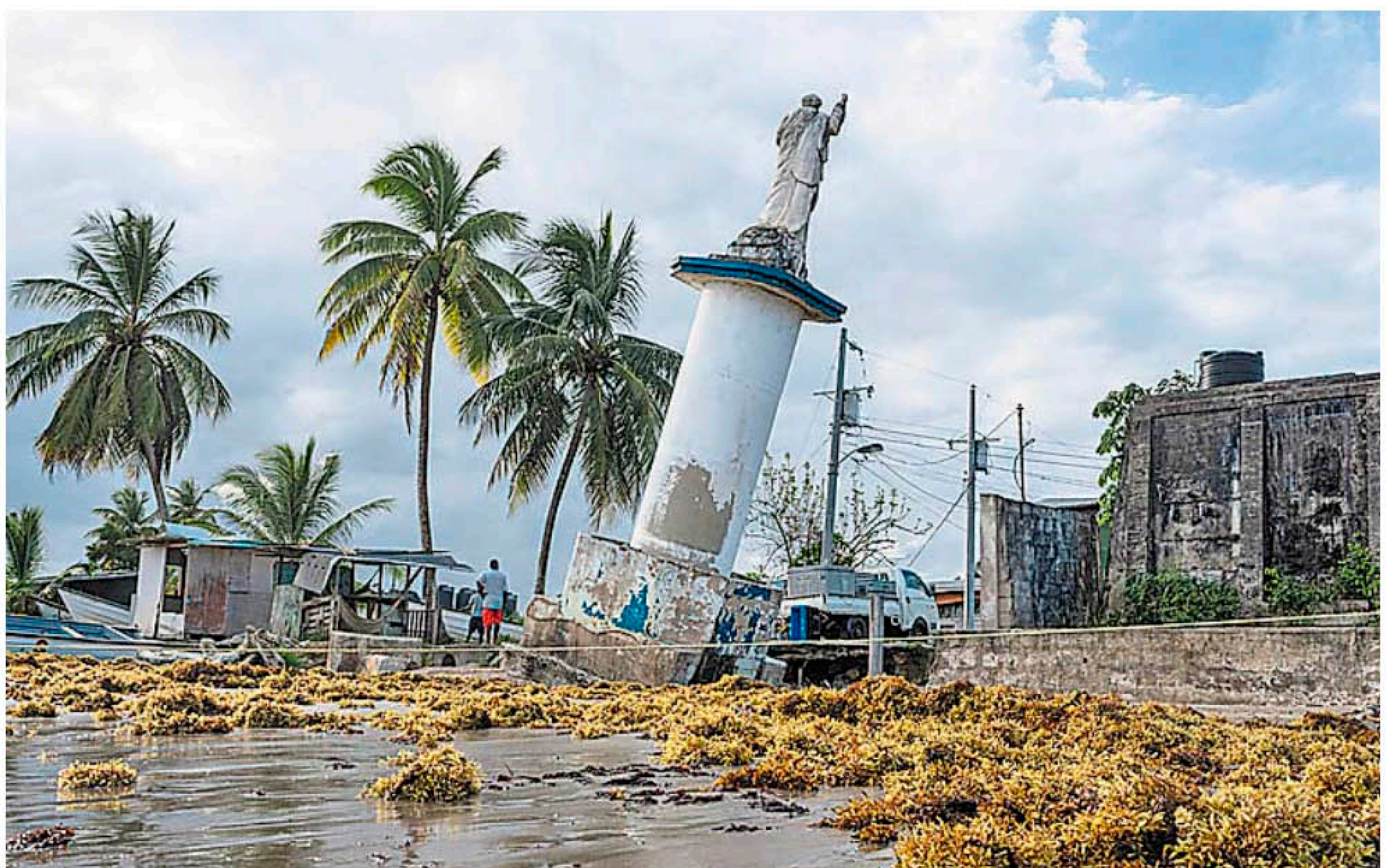
"Trinidad and Tobago is already experiencing the adverse impacts of climate change, such as sea level rise, increased ambient temperature and extreme weather systems," Camille Robinson-Regis, then the minister of planning and now minister of social development, wrote in a foreword to the report. She noted that climate change could undermine efforts to ease poverty and improve health care.

The island nation's climate has historically been highly variable. Climate change has made it more so. And Trinidad's average temperature has risen two and half times above the global average from 1946 to 2019, according to the government report to the U.N. Over the past four decades, heavy rain that last multiple days has also been more frequent.

Watermelon farmers complain that dry seasons are drier, forcing them to water more frequently. Then, when the rainy season comes, fierce rains damage plants and lower watermelon yields.

"Watermelons can't compete with oil and gas," said Teeluckram Khemrag, who was selling his produce on a roadside on the southern end of Trinidad island.

Other businesses are also hurting. Bally's by the Sea Hotel and Resort, a 17-room beachside motel in Mayaro, was empty of guests on a recent April afternoon. Nisha Churai, the hotel supervisor, blamed the gobs of rotting seaweed — known as sargassum — coating the beach, along with the country's weak economy.



TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trinidad and Tobago rely on oil and gas production, but those resources are driving climate change, bringing stronger storms. Downpours are taking sediment to the sea, hurting the fish populations.

"It smells funny," she said. "I wouldn't want to be around that either."

Tons of sargassum that thrive in warming waters and on agricultural runoff are gathering on beaches across the Caribbean. The seaweed tangles in fishing nets, and it interferes with the nesting of turtles.

Dave Ali, an oil and gas platform worker who lives down the street, said the amount of the heavy brown seaweed amassing on the beach had grown every year since about 2014.

"I love the idea of solar and wind, but we won't leave oil and gas in our lifetime," he said, sipping a beer on his porch. "We're a small country. There is only so much we can do."

National

The New York Times

Tracing 2 Decades of Failure on Immigration

Why Efforts to Overhaul the System Fizzled in Congress Long Before Title 42

By KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

WASHINGTON — For nearly a quarter century, as successive waves of migrants have tried to enter and work in the United States, presidents have appealed to Congress to address gaps in an immigration system nearly everyone agrees is broken.

Yet year after year, congressional efforts to strike a wide-ranging bipartisan deal — one that would strengthen border security measures while expanding avenues for people to immigrate to the United States in an orderly and lawful way — have fractured under the strain of political forces.

Immigration has proved to be a potent political messaging tool, particularly for Republicans, who have rallied voters behind campaigns to close the border with Mexico — and denounced anything other than stringent security proposals as amnesty. And Democrats have long resisted border security initiatives without measures to grant legal status to millions of undocumented immigrants residing in the United States and to expand immigration in the future.

While many lawmakers have tried to bridge the gap, not once in the 21st century has Congress managed to send a comprehensive immigration bill to the president's desk.

The legacy of that inaction is seen in factories and farms, where undocumented migrants work grueling jobs for low wages; in the skyrocketing backlog of asylum cases that have yet to appear before an immigration judge; in the enrichment of cartels trafficking migrants and drugs to the U.S.-Mexico border; and in the uncertainty at the border after the expiration last week of pandemic-era restrictions on entry.

As lawmakers try to tackle immigration yet again, here is a look at how and why previous efforts in Congress failed.

MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Migrants who crossed the Rio Grande into Brownsville, Texas, were among thousands of people converging on the U.S.-Mexico border last week as pandemic-era restrictions known as Title 42 expired.

2006
The McCain-Kennedy bill passes, only to die in the House.

JAMIE ROSE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senators John McCain and Edward M. Kennedy struck a compromise.

On May 25, 2006, the Republican-led Senate passed the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 by a vote of 62 to 36. Twenty-three Republicans — including Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the current minority leader — supported the bill, along with all but four Democrats and one independent. The Republican-led House never took it up.

WHAT WAS PROPOSED The bill was based on a compromise struck by Senators John McCain, Republican of Arizona, and Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts. Their framework coupled border security measures that Republicans were demanding — such as fencing, radar and aerial surveillance tools, and an influx of personnel — with provisions championed by Democrats offering millions of undocumented immigrants living in the United States a way to earn citizenship and the creation of a guest worker program.

WHY IT FAILED Despite opposition from some top Republicans, the bill drew enough backing to pass the Senate after an aggressive push by President George W. Bush. It also had the backing of big business groups and some powerful labor unions.

But the more conservative House, which in late 2005 had passed a bill placing strict limits on immigration and criminalizing unlawful entry, never took it up, effectively killing it. Republicans instead brought up a measure dealing with only border security, called the Secure Fence Act, which passed both the House and Senate with veto-proof majorities. Mr. Bush signed it into law two weeks before the 2006 midterm elections.

2007
The 'Gang of 12' bill in the Senate falls flat.

SUSAN WALSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Senator Jeff Sessions, center, led a conservative revolt against the bill.

After congressional Republicans suffered punishing defeats in the 2006 midterms, new Democratic majorities in the Senate and House tried to tackle immigration again. But the new bill failed to clear a series of procedural hurdles in the Senate in June 2007 and never received a final vote in either chamber.

WHAT WAS PROPOSED The 2007 bill adopted the approach of the previous year's proposal, but with a "trigger" conditioning legal status for undocumented immigrants on first meeting a series of border security benchmarks. The bill also proposed granting legal status based on a points system that scored immigrants according to job skills, education level, family ties and English-language proficiency.

WHY IT FAILED The coalition of senators that worked out the legislation, which came to be known as the Gang of 12, represented the broadest bipartisan coalition yet to join forces on an immigration compromise. But the bill encountered dogged opposition from both parties and ultimately collapsed.

Senator Jeff Sessions, the Alabama Republican who would go on to carry out a zero-tolerance policy for unlawful border crossings as President Donald J. Trump's attorney general, led a conservative revolt against the bill, denouncing it as amnesty. At the same time, pro-labor Democrats objected to the expanded temporary guest-worker programs, while others in the party panned the points system for prioritizing job skills over family ties.

2010
Democrats fail to carry the DREAM Act.

BRENDAN HOFFMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The bill sought to give young migrants a chance for legal status.

In December 2010, Democratic congressional leaders, poised to lose control of the House, held votes on the DREAM Act: legislation that aimed to give undocumented migrants brought to the country as children, often referred to as "Dreamers," an opportunity to gain legal status. The House passed the bill by a vote of 216 to 198, with eight Republicans in favor and 38 Democrats opposed. Ten days later, the Democrat-led Senate fell five votes short of breaking a filibuster blocking it from a vote.

WHAT WAS PROPOSED The legislation sought to enable Dreamers to become legal residents and potentially U.S. citizens, provided they met certain conditions. Eligible migrants would have to have enrolled in college or served in the military for at least two years, pass a criminal-background check and be under 30 years of age. The legislation, first introduced in 2001, had been a component of both the 2006 and 2007 comprehensive immigration bills.

WHY IT FAILED Conservative Republicans in the Senate campaigned against the bill as a grant of amnesty, persuading all but three of their colleagues to oppose it. But Democrats also failed to rally around their party's legislation. Five moderate Democrats refused to back the bill because it did not include a broader immigration plan — the five votes they needed to clear the Senate's 60-vote procedural hurdle and allow it to advance.

2013
A Senate gang succeeds, but the House digs in.

J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Speaker John Boehner refused to bring up the legislation for a vote.

After the 2012 presidential election and a Republican autopsy that concluded the party had to shift its hard-line stance on immigration, momentum built for a compromise bill. On June 27, 2013, the Senate, voting 68 to 32, passed a compromise immigration bill addressing both border security and expanded immigration pathways, with 14 Republicans on board. But the G.O.P.-led House never acted on it.

WHAT WAS PROPOSED A "Gang of Eight" group of senators — four Democrats and four Republicans — revived the idea of pairing border security measures with expanded immigration avenues, subject to meeting trigger thresholds on border security. The bill called for universal adoption of the employment eligibility system, known as E-Verify, to make it more difficult to hire undocumented workers and put most undocumented immigrants in the country on a 13-year pathway to citizenship. It would have awarded visas based on a points system, with about 50 percent based on job skills, and included temporary guest worker programs.

WHY IT FAILED The bill easily passed the Senate but was effectively dead on arrival in the increasingly right-wing House. Speaker John Boehner, Republican of Ohio, repeatedly refused to give it a vote, saying he would not bring up an immigration bill that a majority of Republicans did not support.

2018
Divided Republicans kill an overhaul.

RYAN CHRISTOPHER JONES FOR THE NYT

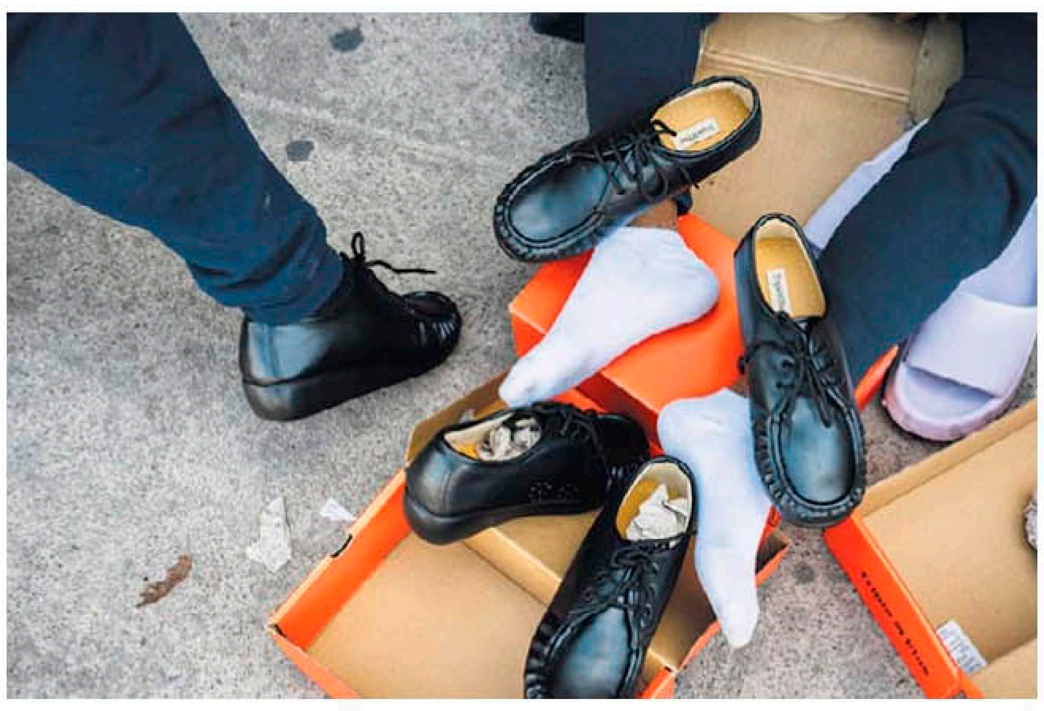
The U.S. is home to over 10 million undocumented immigrants.

After Mr. Trump ended an Obama-era program that extended deportation reprieves and work permits to undocumented immigrants who had been brought to the United States as children, pressure mounted for Congress to codify new protections for them.

But Mr. Trump said any such bill would have to include an end to decades of family-based migration policies, the construction of a border wall and a vast crackdown on other undocumented immigrants. House Republicans tried to pass an overhaul they pitched as a compromise between their own moderates and conservatives. But all House Democrats and about half of House Republicans opposed it, and the measure failed in a 121-to-301 vote on June 27, 2018.

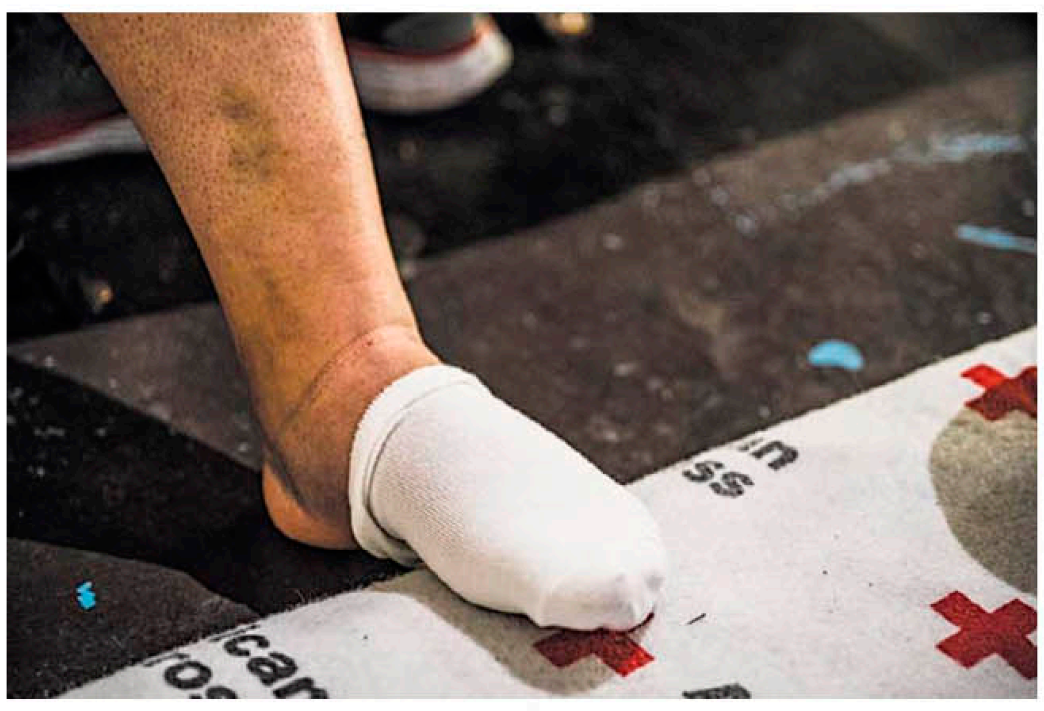
WHAT WAS PROPOSED At its core, the Republican bill envisioned authorizing stepped-up border security measures, like Mr. Trump's wall, alongside measures to give Dreamers a pathway to citizenship. But the legislation also included conservative measures to limit avenues for asylum seekers and criminalize fraudulent claims, as well as make it easier to both detain migrant children and send unaccompanied minors back to their countries of origin.

WHY IT FAILED The measure faced brisk headwinds from the start. Democrats vocally opposed the bill, which Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, then the minority leader, called "a cruel codification of President Trump's anti-immigrant agenda." Republicans were still divided. And the legislation lost critical momentum after last-minute waffling by Mr. Trump.



After being processed by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, a family picked up shoes at the Sacred Heart Church in El Paso.

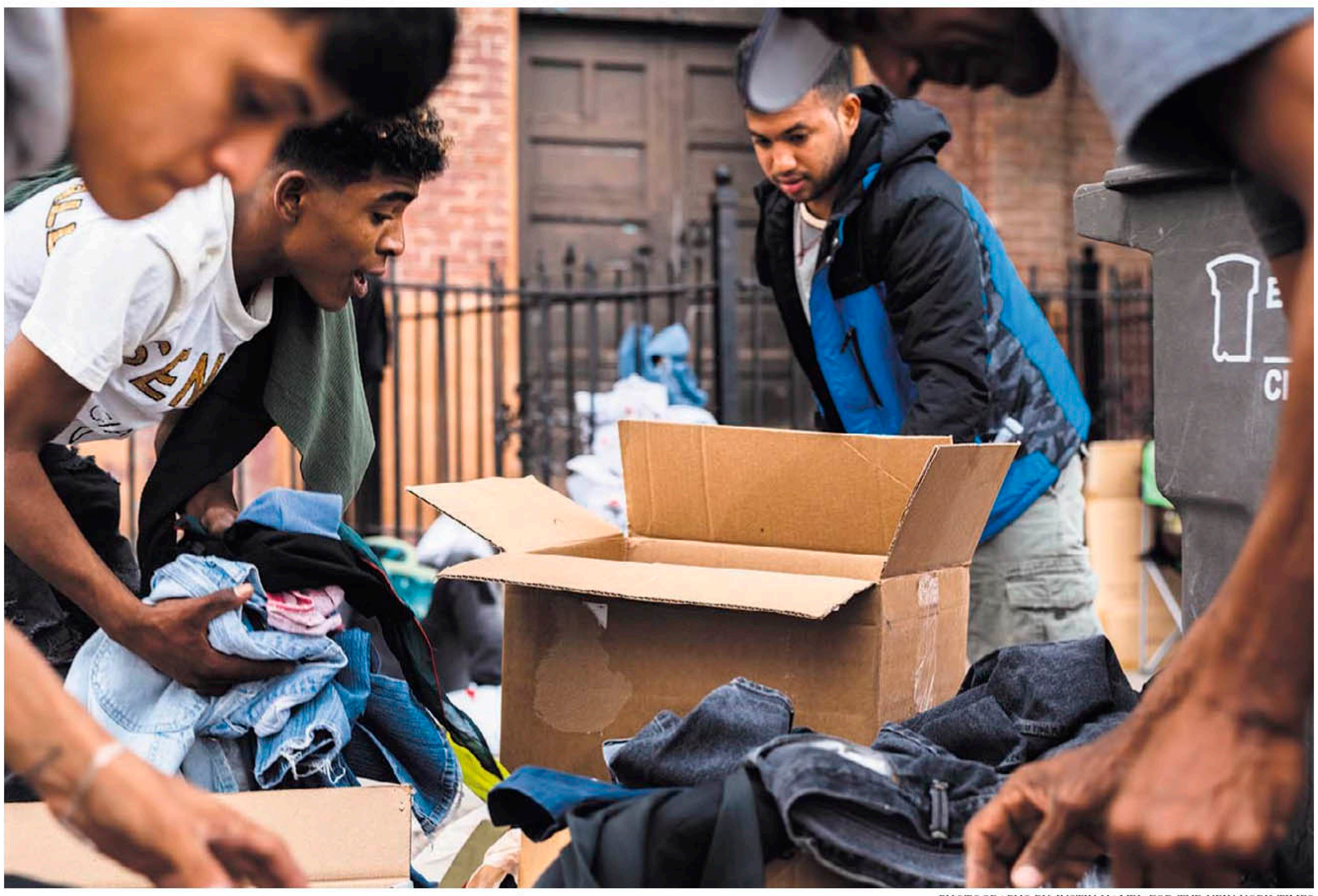
In downtown El Paso, a newly arrived migrant bought a bus ticket. A new large influx would tax border processing centers.



While scaling the border wall, Rosmarie Cepeda of Venezuela slipped on the El Paso side of the border, shattering her left foot.

Title 42 is Gone, but Not the Conditions Driving Migrants to the U.S.

By MIRIAM JORDAN



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUSTIN HAMEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sorting through donated clothes outside Sacred Heart Church. The magnet drawing people to the United States is the labor market.

Relative quiet has prevailed along the southern U.S. border since Friday, despite widespread fears that ending a pandemic-era policy to immediately expel most migrants, even asylum seekers, would set off a stampede from Mexico.

A surge in migrants did happen, in the run-up to the expiration of the pandemic-era expulsion policy, known as Title 42. Uncertain of the impact of new deterrent measures, migrants braved turbulent rivers, cut through concertina wire and scaled the steel border wall to reach the United States and turn themselves in to U.S. Border Patrol agents. On some days last week, apprehensions reached about 11,000, among the highest recorded.

Alejandro Mayorkas, the Homeland Security secretary, said on Sunday that agents apprehended 6,300 migrants on Friday and 4,200 on Saturday. The Biden administration's new policy, combining the carrot of new legal pathways with the stick of more punitive measures for unlawful crossings, was working, Mr. Mayorkas said in television interviews.

Most migrants now must prove that they were first denied asylum in a country they passed through en route to the United States. And they could face criminal prosecution, prolonged detention and a five-year ban from re-entering.

But the lull could be the calm before another storm.

Economic, political and environmental forces driving people to the United States are unlikely to subside in the coming months, and the new U.S. policies may not all survive. Minutes after the new policies took effect, immigrant advocacy groups sued to block a provision designed to discourage asylum seekers from coming to the border, likening it to a transit ban struck down during the Trump administration. And hours before Title 42 expired, a federal judge in Florida issued an order barring the release of migrants from U.S. custody without hearing dates. (The U.S. government is challenging the decision.)

Beyond U.S. borders, political instability, gang violence and climate change will continue to spur emigration.

Much of the developing world, from Africa and Asia to South America and the Caribbean, is still reeling from economic ruin wrought by Covid-19 and exacerbated by the war in Ukraine.

"Everyone is looking at the arrivals at the border, but the root of the problem lies in push factors inside countries of origin that are going to persist," said Justin Gest, a political scientist at George Mason University who studies immigration. "When crises occur, they generate northbound flows," he said.

In recent years, there has been a growing exodus from troubled countries in the Western Hemisphere, such as Venezuela, Cuba and Haiti. Unlike Europe, where multiple countries are potential destinations for migrants, in the Western Hemisphere, almost all roads lead to one country, the United States.

And, beyond the factors pushing migrants out of their home countries, the magnet drawing people to the United States is the labor market. Unemployment stands at its lowest level in decades, yet there are millions of unfilled jobs.

"There has never been a better moment for migrants to seek work in the U.S.," said Wayne Cornelius, an immigration scholar and emeritus professor at the University of California, San Diego.

"Even most of those seeking asylum are motivated powerfully by the prospect of higher-wage employment, and many have contacts who can steer them quickly to job vacancies," he said.

The pressures resulting in an influx of asylum seekers are unlikely to subside.

The Biden administration policy aims to dissuade migrants from setting out on the journey to the border.

So while Title 42 is no longer in effect, other, new restrictions are. Migrants are barred from requesting asylum at the border unless they prove that a country they transited through denied them protection. Exceptions will be made only under extraordinary circumstances, such as medical conditions, or for asylum seekers who used a mobile app to secure an appointment at an official port of entry. So far, the number of appointments has been limited.

The Biden administration has announced it will open regional centers, starting in Colombia and Guatemala, where migrants can apply for refugee status and undergo initial eligibility screening for legal entry into the United States. Canada and Spain have agreed to accept some of these asylum seekers.

Mr. Gest, the political scientist, said the United States wants to spread the responsibility for absorbing so many migrants, "but it's not clear that is going to work."

Since early this year, Washington has been encouraging Venezuelans, Cubans, Nicaraguans and Haitians to apply for a "humanitarian parole" program that allows them to fly directly to the United States and stay for two years, if they have a financial sponsor.

But many migrants hail from countries not covered by the program, such as Colombia, Ecuador and Honduras. And even for the four targeted countries, the number of people trying to gain entry surpasses the 30,000 monthly slots, and many people do not qualify because they lack connections in the United States.

Shauyuri Mejias, 48, of Venezuela, studied the program but realized she could not participate. So she trekked through the treacherous Darien Gap, a jungle that straddles Colombia and Panama, with her son, daughter-in-law and grandchild.

"We are the first generation of our family to come to the United States. We have no one to lean on here," said Ms. Mejias, sitting in a shelter in El Paso.

The Mejias family managed to use the government app to book an interview at a port of entry and crossed the border before Title 42 was lifted. Among the many frustrated migrants amassed in Mexico, however, patience is bound to wear thin. Historically, there is no conclusive evidence that more aggressive enforcement and more punitive sanctions deter mass migration.

El Paso, one of the most affected border cities in recent months, recorded a sharp drop in migrant arrests, to just 639 on Saturday, according to internal data shared with The New York Times, compared with 2,131 on May 10. But that masks potential challenges ahead.

U.S. intelligence estimates that 60,000 to 65,000 migrants were on the Mexican side of the border, according to Raul Ortiz, the Border Patrol chief. Mexico's president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, said that smuggling networks were spreading misinformation that the border would be open once Title 42 expired.

A renewed surge could deepen both the humanitarian crisis and political headaches for the Biden administration. In recent weeks, shelter operators and physicians in border towns have reported a spike in hospitalizations for injuries sustained by migrants who climbed the border wall.

While scaling the towering steel barrier under the cover of darkness, Rosmarie Cepeda slipped and plummeted to the ground on the El Paso side of the border, shattering her left foot. She underwent surgery, and could take six months to recover. The 40-year-old Venezuelan cook said she decided to take her chances after failing to secure an appointment on the mobile app.

"I was determined to get into the United States. I have three children in Venezuela who depend on me, said Ms. Cepeda, who is recovering in a church shelter.

A new large influx would tax border processing centers. To ease overcrowding, migrants have at times been released from custody without a date to report to immigration court for hearings.

That practice is coming under fire from Republicans as they gear up to make immigration central to their 2024 election campaigns.

If legal challenges make facilities dangerously overcrowded, the optics will hurt the administration, said Stuart Anderson, executive director of the National Foundation for American Policy, a think tank. "The American public will blame the president."

North Carolina Faces Fight Over Veto on Abortion Bill

KATE MEDLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Roy Cooper, the Democratic governor of North Carolina, vetoed on Saturday a bill to ban abortion at 12 weeks. Now he aims to block an override.

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Override votes in the two chambers, each of which require a three-fifths vote of those present to succeed, have not yet been scheduled. But state lawmakers and lobbyists said over the weekend that they expected to see a vote as early as this week.

Republicans say the bill represents a compromise and is less restrictive than other bans that outlaw the procedure at conception or before most women even realize they are pregnant. Democrats say the bill is a disaster for women's health, and erects all kinds of financial and logistical obstacles that would cut off abortion access for many women. They complained that Republicans rammed the initial votes through their chambers in two marathon sessions over 48 hours.

A Meredith poll in February showed that 57 percent of respondents supported the state's current 20-week ban, or would expand it. About 35 percent wanted the procedure restricted to 15 weeks or less.

Lauren Horsch, deputy chief of staff to Phil Berger, the Senate Republican leader, called the bill "a mainstream approach to limiting elective abortions in the second and third trimesters, supporting women and children, and ensuring that women have options available to them." In a statement, Mr. Berger said he looked forward to "promptly overriding" the veto.

Mallory Finch, who came to Raleigh on Saturday to protest the governor's veto, said, "North Carolina is a state for life, and there are people who want the act to go through."

Democratic officials in districts across the state are trying to mobilize voters to oppose the bill. In New Hanover County, where Wilmington is located, party leaders organized a caller chain that contacted Republicans, including Ted Davis Jr., a Republican House member considered a swing vote, and Michael V. Lee, a Wilmington Republican state senator, every three minutes one day last week. Mr. Cooper believes both men might be movable on the issue.

Mr. Lee, however, said a 12-week restriction is in line with his thinking on abortion. In a text message, he said that Mr. Cooper has mischaracterized his position on the issue.

"I believe a woman should have the right to choose an abortion in the first trimester (3 months) with exceptions," Mr. Lee wrote.

Mr. Davis has said in the past that he supported North Carolina's current law. Mr. Cooper is also targeting the district of a fourth Republican, John Bradford, a House member who said shortly before his election last year that he had "no intention" of rolling back the 20-week law. Mr. Bradford did not respond to a request for comment.

The defection of Ms. Cotham, a former Charlotte-area educator who had served in the state legislature and unsuccessfully ran for Congress before returning to the North Carolina General Assembly this year, stunned Democrats.

In announcing her decision, she said she had been bullied by the party and was no longer aligned with them on some issues, including school choice.

"The modern-day Democratic Party has become unrecognizable to me and to so many others throughout this state and this country," she said when she announced. "They have pushed me out."

Ms. Cotham has historically been an outspoken supporter of abortion rights. When she was a Democrat, she accused Republicans of playing doctor. She also spoke publicly about her own harrowing experience with a lost pregnancy that required medical intervention. "This decision was up to me, my husband, my doctor and my God. It was not up to any of you in this chamber," Ms. Cotham said in 2015. Still, she voted in favor of the 12-week ban after she switched parties.

Ms. Cotham did not respond to a request for comment.

On Thursday at the Modish Nail Spa in Mint Hill — the Charlotte suburb where Ms. Cotham lives — May Lopez said she was upset by the new abortion restriction.

"I feel terrible about it, because I think they're just stripping the rights away from women. And I remember. I grew up in the days where my girlfriend died because of the hanger abortion and all that kind of stuff," said Ms. Lopez, who votes largely for Democrats.

Frank McCullough, a Charlotte pastor, and his wife, Barbara McCullough, a retired schoolteacher, both voted for Ms. Cotham when she ran as a Democrat last year. Both said they felt betrayed by her decisions to switch parties and help Republicans pass more restrictions on abortion.

"I don't believe in abortion, but I believe in the rights of a lady to make that choice between her and God," Mr. McCullough said. "We voted for you and here you go turning your back on us."

People who live in Ms. Cotham's district said that while it leans Democratic, it also features a healthy presence of conservatives who back abortion restrictions.

On Wednesday afternoon in Wilmington, part of Mr. Davis's district, swimmers at the Y.W.C.A. aquatic center were divided.

"I'm a Christian, and I believe that life begins at conception, and I'm against abortion altogether," said Joyce Woodard, a retiree.

Emma Evans, a college student who was watching a swim lesson of the 4-year-old she was babysitting, said she was baffled by the passage of the abortion ban.

"I don't know much about it at all, but I do know I'm for abortion" rights, she said. "A bunch of men are just making rules for these women's bodies? It makes no sense to me."

In an interview on Friday, Mr. Cooper appeared troubled by the political state of play. During more than six years in office, he had successfully vetoed more than 50 bills. The November midterms, which left Republicans just one vote shy of a supermajority in North Carolina, had threatened his control over the legislative process, which can be upended by a single lawmaker's absence. Ms. Cotham's party exodus last month deprived him of any remaining comfort.

"I knew things were precarious," he said. "But then when Representative Cotham switched, and made it a supermajority by one vote in each chamber, we knew that it was going to be a much tougher fight."

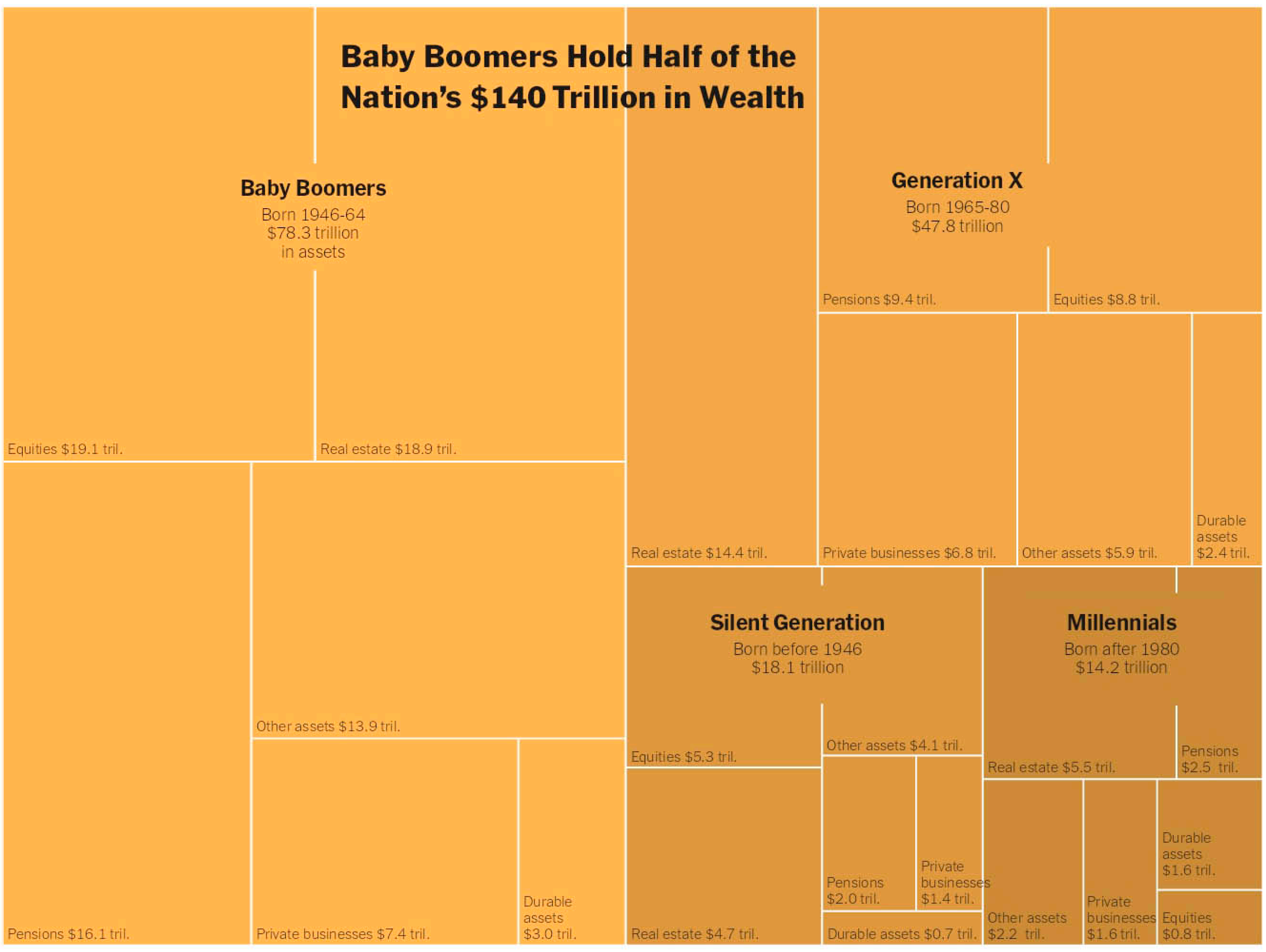
"I'm worried that women will die," he said.

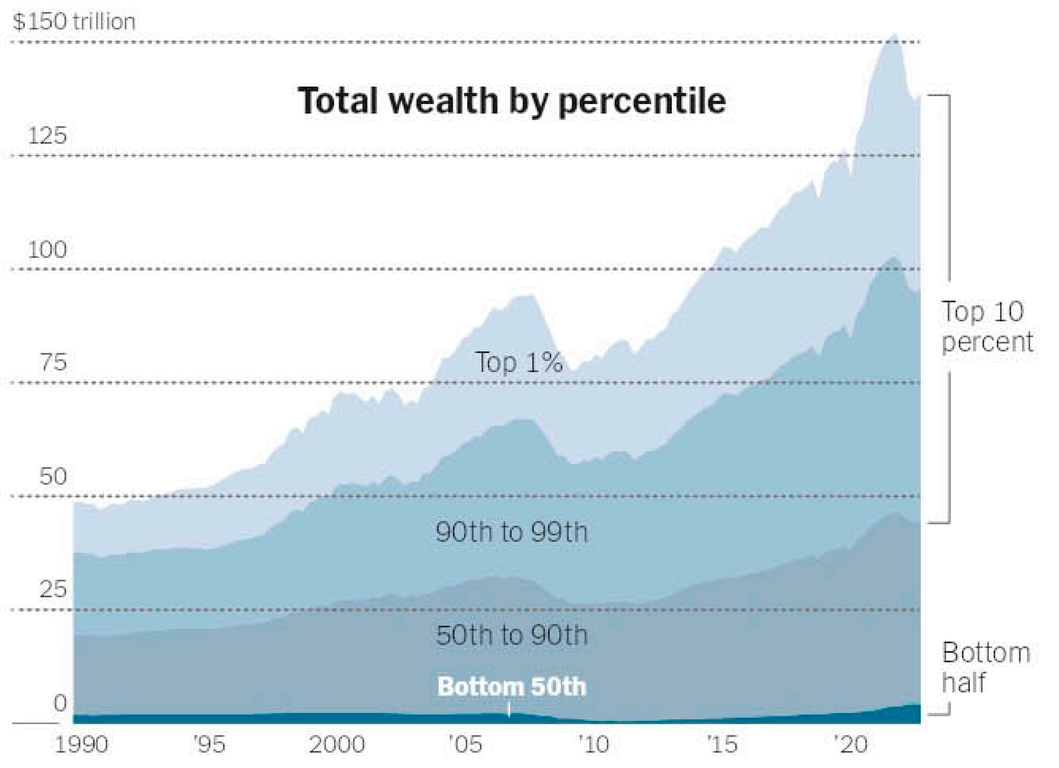
Motivating voters is no easy task: A number of people over the past week said they were only dimly aware of the fight, even if they felt strongly for or against abortion access.

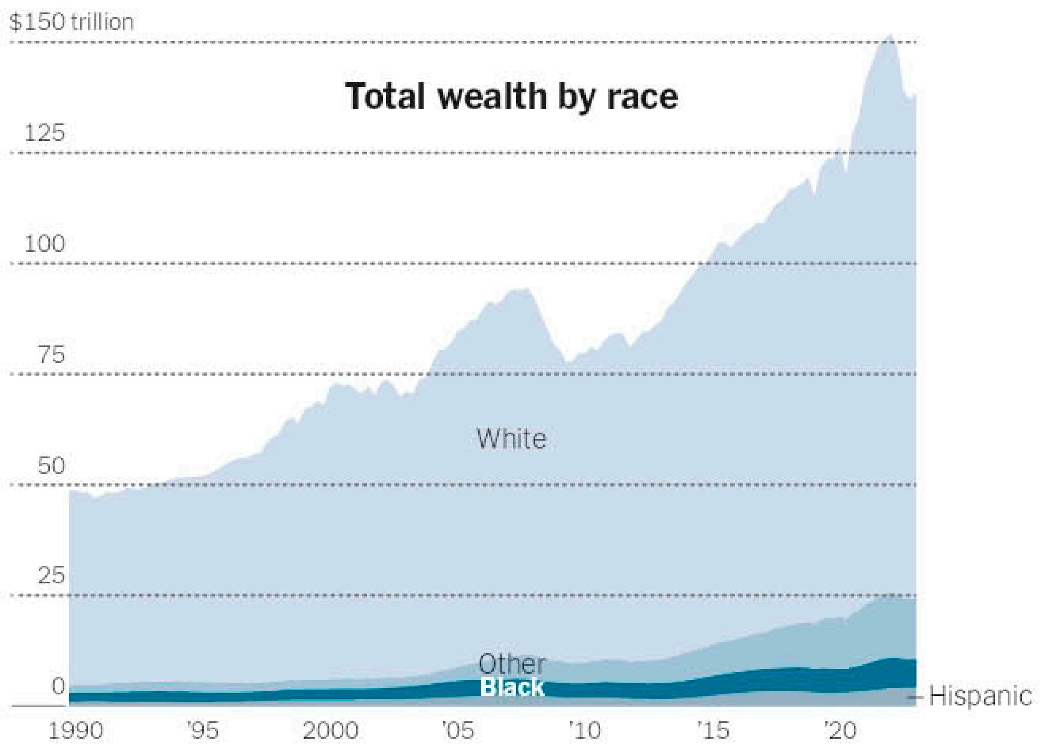
Nick Decker was waiting for friends Thursday at the Crazy Pig, a barbecue joint in Mr. Bradford's district. He said he was aware the governor had been in town that week "to try to sway some state legislators."

He said he was not aware of the position of his Republican representative, Mr. Bradford. But, he added, "I'm very pro-choice."

Bryan Anderson contributed reporting from Davidson, Charlotte and Raleigh, N.C.







Source: Federal Reserve | Notes: As of the fourth quarter of 2022. Total wealth amounts accounts for liabilities, but the individual asset categories do not account for liabilities and do not add up to the $140 trillion total. The total assets when not accounting for liabilities is $158 trillion. Pensions include the present value of future benefits as well as the value of annuities sold by life insurance companies. Wealth by percentile and race are adjusted for inflation.

KARL RUSSELL/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Baby Boomers Leave Behind Riches, Mostly for the Rich

From Page A1

The wealthiest 10 percent of households will be giving and receiving a majority of the riches. Within that range, the top 1 percent — which holds about as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent, and is predominantly white — will dictate the broadest share of the money flow. The more diverse bottom 50 percent of households will account for only 8 percent of the transfers.

A key reason there are such large soon-to-be-inherited sums is the uneven way boomers superbly benefited from price growth in the financial and housing markets.

The average price of a U.S. house has risen about 500 percent since 1983, when most baby boomers were in their 20s and 30s, prime years for household formation. As U.S. corporations have grown into global behemoths, those deeply invested in the stock market have found even bigger returns: The stock market, as measured by the benchmark S&P 500 index, is up by more than 2,800 percent since the beginning of 1983, around the time index funds took off as a mainstream investment for corporate employees and many other middle-class professionals. (Those figures do not include dividends and are not adjusted for inflation, which they have far outstripped; consumer prices have risen about 200 percent over those 40 years.)

The boomers who benefited most from decades of price growth in real estate and financial assets were, in general, already rich, white or both — attributable, in part, to years of housing discrimination and a lack of access to financial tools and advice for people of color.

But the wealth transfer in its full scope, like any widespread financial phenomenon, will have many nuances: A patchwork of lower-wage earners may be able to move into a parent's paid-off home in a hot housing market — or may receive a small windfall still meaningful enough to pay off debts.

And there will be millennials, Gen X-ers and young boomers in the upper middle class set to inherit lump sums — seemingly winners — who will wrestle with the substantial headaches of a "sandwich generation," dealing with the expense of caring for aging parents and children at once.

There are few aspects of economic life that will go untouched by the knock-on effects of the handover: Housing, education, health care, financial markets, labor markets and politics will all inevitably be affected.

The Role of the Tax Code

In HBO's hit series "Succession," dynastic wealth is center stage: The children of the Roy family, the sneering protagonists, are pitted against one another by the clan's patriarch to see which, if any, can prevail to run the multibillion-dollar family business. Yet amid the dark satire, the show has displayed the extent to which they are all lopsided winners.

High-net-worth and ultrahigh-net-worth individuals — those with at least $5 million and $20 million in cash or easily cashable assets — make up only 1.5 percent of all households. Together, they constitute 42 percent of the volume of expected transfers through 2045, according to the financial research firm Cerulli Associates. That is about $36 trillion as of 2020 — numbers that have probably increased since.

The scale of the transfer is made possible in part by the U.S. tax code. Individuals can transmit up to $12.9 million to heirs, during life or at death, without federal estate tax (and $26 million for married couples).

As a result, although high-net-worth and ultrahigh-net-worth individuals could inherit more than $30 trillion by 2045, their prospective taxes on estates and transfers is $4.2 trillion.

Rocky Fittizzi, a wealth strategies adviser for Bank of America Private Bank, noted in a conversation with his colleagues recorded for clients that "inheritances are income-tax-free to the children with very few exceptions."

While tax evasion scandals tend to catch the public eye, legally approved forms of tax avoidance are the major tool of wealth preservation. Morris Pearl, 60, a former managing director at BlackRock, the largest asset management firm in the world, points to himself as an example.

"People are following the law just fine," said Mr. Pearl, who started at Salomon Brothers in the 1980s. "I generally don't pay much taxes."

Mr. Pearl has two young adult sons with trust funds in the "seven figures." He is also the chair of the Patriotic Millionaires, a nonprofit group of well-heeled Americans pushing for the wealthy to pay much more in taxes.

One reason they do not, he joked, is that "the basic way to save on taxes is to not have any income." His tongue-in-cheek message being that it is far better to earn capital gains on investments that go untaxed unless or until those gains are "realized" when sold for cash.

"I have right now in my stock portfolio some stock that my wife's father, who died a long time ago, bought in the 1970s — that investment has gone from a few thousand dollars to many hundreds of thousands of dollars," Mr. Pearl said. "I've never paid a penny of taxes on all that, and I may not ever, because I might not sell and then my kids are going to have millions of dollars in income that's never taxed in any way, shape or form."

Mr. Pearl noted that people with only a couple of million can use "securities-based loans," borrowing low-cost funds from banks using the value of a given investment portfolio as collateral. "You just loan yourself money," he said, and in many if not most cases, the portfolio's rate of return exceeds the rate of interest on the loan.

Mr. Pearl said he did not think the U.S. government "needs more money from rich people" to fund itself. Rather, his support for reforming the tax system arises from his belief that the rich have begun to monopolize resources and opportunity in a way that jeopardizes social stability and economic growth.

"I have investments in companies that depend on growth," he said. "I'm not altruistic."

Trying to Save More

Leland Presley, a 53-year-old baker at a Publix supermarket in Helena, Ala., also has a prospective inheritance: the modest house he shares with his mother, Glenda, born in 1946, which was paid off before his father died seven years ago.

Still, he continually asks himself, "Am I going to have enough money?"

He has no children, but he feels stretched making $20 an hour, having started out at Publix at $13 an hour in 2013. He is holding tight to his estimated $190,000 in retirement savings and living modestly, hoping to increase it.

Fiona Greig, the global head of investor research and policy for Vanguard, has been working on a report detailing the "self-financing gap" — the insufficiency in "pre-retirement incomes" threatening to leave tens of millions of workers unable to afford retiring in their 70s.

In her research, she has found "all but the most wealthy" are on a trajectory to be financially unprepared to retire to some degree. The bottom 50 percent of households had an average annual income of about $28,000 in 2022, according to the Realtime Inequality tracker

Mr. Presley hopes to stay healthy enough to work until he is 67 — and then draw on Social Security, "if Social Security still exists."

"I do think about that all the time, and worry about that," he said, "because old age is really expensive — I've seen that with my parents." Even with Medicare coverage, Glenda Presley's out-of-pocket costs for blood thinners can cost hundreds of dollars a month.

"So I just try to sacrifice what I can now," Mr. Presley said.

Caught Between Generations

Jennifer Doherty, 33, a journalist for a legal trade publication based in New York City, lives in Union City, N.J., with her husband and their toddler. While she has planned her life around self-sufficiency, she says it was nice to have the prospect of a cushion sometime in middle age from the estate of her grandfather, who was a doctor and biomedical researcher.

But her father has had to use family coffers more than he expected for health expenses and to maintain his standard of living. So Ms. Doherty has put aside any expectation, or desire, of a big inheritance down the road.

In September, despite higher mortgage rates, she and her husband were able to buy a condo apartment in Union City, where median home prices are hovering near $500,000, up about 50 percent since summer 2020. Her husband is consulting for a biotech start-up.

But they still feel a bit squeezed — emblematic of the "sandwich generation" of working-age upper-middle-class adults dealing with costly or time-consuming child care and beginning to serve as caretakers for parents.

Ms. Doherty has begun traveling back and forth between New Jersey and New Orleans "once a month or so," with the toddler, to help care for her mother, 74, who began treatment for pancreatic cancer in March. "Flights are crazy" — airfares were up 26.5 percent in February from a year earlier — and day care is $1,800 a month, she says: "Basically another mortgage."

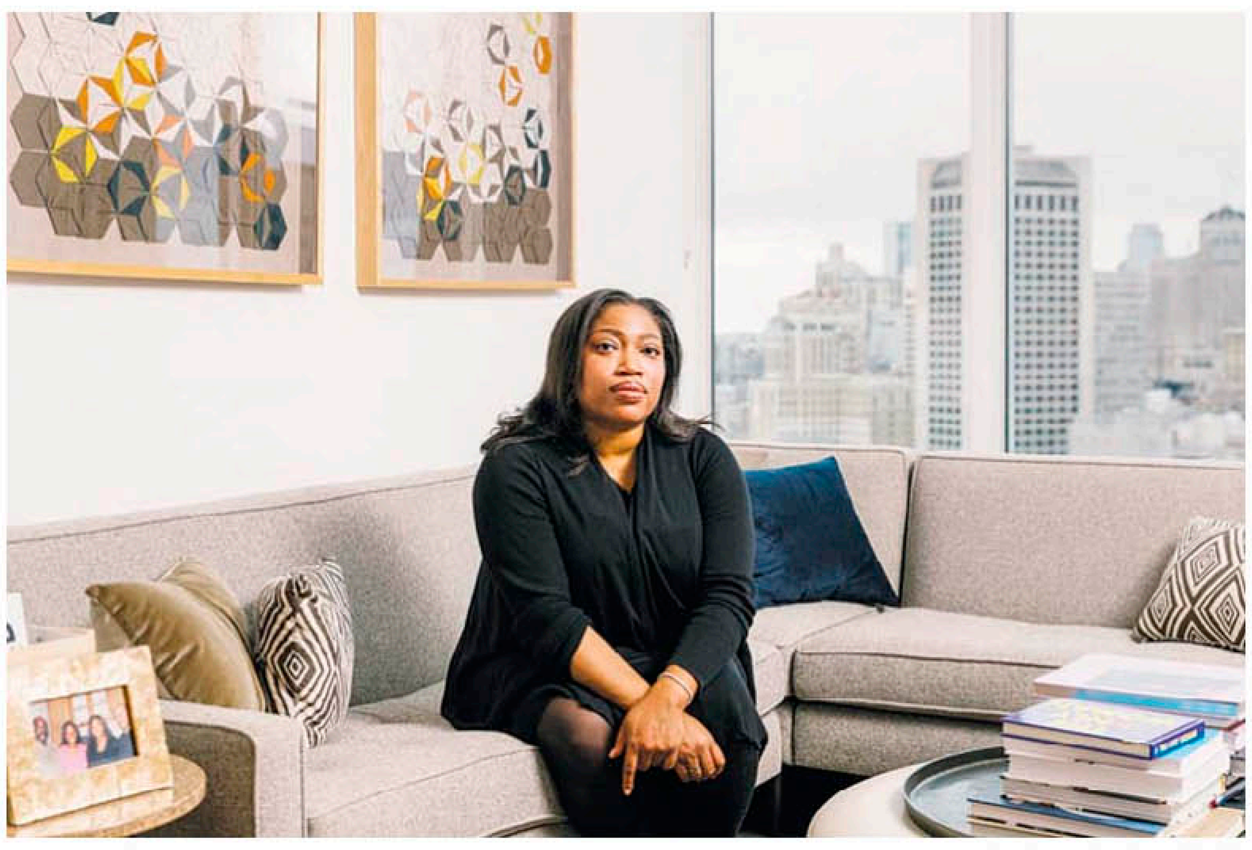
"I don't know how anybody does it," she said. "It feels like you have to be already rich or really lucky."

CHARITY RACHELLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

LELAND PRESLEY, 53, has a prospective inheritance — the modest house that he shares with his mother in Helena, Ala. — and no children, but says that he feels stretched making $20 an hour and worries about retirement.

GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JENNIFER DOHERTY, 33, a journalist who lives in Union City, N.J., says she and her husband feel squeezed financially as they work, raise children and begin to care for their aging parents. "I don't know how anybody does it," she said.



JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MELINDA HIGHTOWER, 43, of San Francisco, a managing director at UBS Wealth Management, leads a "multicultural client segment." The ranks of the wealthy have grown more diverse, but "there's still so much more work to do," she said.

'The Changing Face of Wealth'

At 43, Melinda Hightower, a managing director at UBS Wealth Management, is "borderline millennial." As an industry insider, she is helping prepare the financial sphere for what many call "the changing face of wealth," while, as a Black woman, being part of that transition.

The Swiss bank's decision to create a "multicultural client segment" in January 2022 with her at the helm is evidence of the trend.

Her grandfather, a World War II veteran, began working independently in real estate in Detroit shortly after the war, maneuvering around prejudices. By strategically buying, holding, selling and renting out various properties, he managed to build up a well-placed portfolio of assets.

And that wealth has endured, Ms. Hightower said. "My mom and siblings all own multiple properties and most work for themselves or have a business alongside their W-2 work."

Over the lifetime of boomers, integration, immigration and entrepreneurial business efforts have made it so that more than one million U.S. high-net-worth investors are now Black, Asian, Hispanic or Latin in origin, according to UBS: at once, a major leap in a short amount of time and a relatively small increase compared with the entirety of overall white affluence.

But Ms. Hightower is also intimately aware of what she calls "two worlds." Higher-than-average poverty rates and far-below-average household wealth still plague Black and Latin households as a group. In 2019, the typical Black family still had only about $23,000 of wealth.

"I'm all about celebrating progress," she said. "But there's still so much more work to do."

The Future of Inequality

As the wealth transfer proceeds, scholars, theorists and market analysts think that in addition to shaping individual outcomes, it will draw inequality further into the focus of policy debates.

Joseph Brusuelas, the chief economist at RSM, a consulting firm, said he thought changes would come — but only when high-income salaried workers, who still seem to be managing, can no longer comfortably afford families, housing, elder care and leisure.

Once white-collar workers left out of the wealth transfers feel the burn, "large companies will back" a bigger welfare state, Mr. Brusuelas concluded, "because they'll want the government to subsidize it" rather than paying to provide more benefits themselves.

"It'll have nothing to do with social justice, nothing to do with right or wrong, and everything to do with the bottom line," he said.

The Biden administration hopes to speed the timeline of any public policy reckoning with wealth inequality, or at least lay out a liberal blueprint for executing one. The president's latest budget proposes largely offsetting spending on social programs with revenue from a minimum 25 percent annual wealth tax on households with a net worth of $100 million or more.

Through property taxes, "the middle class already pays a wealth tax on their primary source of wealth," said Bharat Ramamurti, the deputy director for the National Economic Council. "The super rich — who have far more of their wealth not in real estate — largely do not."

But David Kelly, the chief global strategist at J.P. Morgan Asset Management, warns that "it's not a matter of just taxing the wealth of the richest and handing it out to everybody else," especially because a wealth tax might well be struck down as unconstitutional by the courts.

He and others make the case that although the widening wealth gap may be inevitable, finding financially creative or cost-effective ways to raise baseline standards of living is still possible.

"The real question is not 'why are the rich rich?' or what to do about that," Mr. Kelly argued. "It is 'why are the poor poor?' and what to do about that."

'Superstar' Cities Lose Luster as Educated Workers Tire of Costs

JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Eduardo Lerro, who taught school in New York, moved to the Minneapolis area, where, he said, the income "threshold" is lower.

This article is by ***Emily Badger, Robert Gebeloff*** *and* ***Josh Katz.***

The college graduates who fill white-collar jobs in the San Francisco area began to leave in growing numbers about a decade ago. More and more have moved to other parts of the country — an accelerating outflow of educated workers that, in a poorer part of America, might be thought of as brain drain.

When the pandemic arrived, these departures surged so sharply that the San Francisco area has lately lost more educated workers than have moved in.

Over this same time, a similar pattern has been taking shape in metro San Jose and Los Angeles. Across the country, it has been building in the Washington, D.C., and New York areas. Educated workers, dating to before the pandemic, have been migrating away from the most prosperous parts of the country.

This trend, visible in an Upshot analysis of census microdata, is startling in retrospect. Major coastal metros have been hubs of the kind of educated workers coveted most by high-powered employers and economic development officials. Economists have lamented the growing coastal concentration of their wealth. A politics of resentment in America has fed on it, too. These urban centers have become a class of their own — "superstar cities" — with outsize impact on the American economy fueled by the clustering of workers with degrees.

But it appears in domestic migration data that, years after lower-wage residents have been priced out of expensive coastal metros, higher-paid workers are now turning away from them, too.

Working-age Americans with a degree are still flowing into these regions from other parts of the country, often in large numbers. But as the pool leaving grows faster, that educational advantage is eroding. Boston's pull with college graduates has weakened. Seattle's edge vanished during the pandemic. And the analysis shows San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles and Washington all crossing a significant threshold: More college-educated workers left than moved in.

For most of this century, large metros with a million residents or more have received all of the net gains from college-educated workers migrating around the country, at the expense of smaller places. But among those large urban areas, the dozen metros with the highest living costs — nearly all of them coastal — have had a uniquely bifurcated migration pattern: As they saw net gains from college graduates, they lost large numbers of workers without degrees.

At least, that was true until recently. Now, large, expensive metros are shedding both kinds of workers.

The college-educated workers who've turned away from them are increasingly migrating toward major metros that are still prosperous but not quite so expensive — places like Phoenix, Atlanta, Houston and Tampa. During the pandemic, smaller cities such as Portland, Maine, and Wilmington, N.C., also saw growing inflows of such workers.

The overall migration rate in America today is historically low, and mobility has fallen since the 1980s for all kinds of demographic groups. But these college-educated workers have recently bucked that trend. In the years leading up to the pandemic, their mobility rate was actually rising, a pattern true for both local moves and the kind of longer-distance moves between metro areas analyzed by The Upshot. That has opened a potentially new divide in the American economy between increasingly mobile white-collar workers and blue-collar workers who are increasingly likely to stay put.

For every move that anecdotally points to these trends — and the pandemic produced many such anecdotes — it's trickier to capture these patterns nationwide. The census doesn't publicly track moves between metro areas by demographic cohorts. So to identify these patterns, The Upshot examined an anonymized sample of millions of census records and identified people who moved, grouped them by education level and age, and then linked each mover's origin and destination with larger counties and metro areas.

The fact that big coastal metros have been losing workers without a degree is not that surprising — living costs have surged in these places as the good big-city jobs once available to less educated workers in factories and clerical pools have dwindled. But for workers with a degree, economists have concluded that the higher pay promised in places like the Bay Area and New York should still mean it's a good deal to live there.

That makes it all the more curious that these workers have been leaving anyway.

"Migration patterns for lower-education workers make complete sense," said Daniel Shoag, an economist at Case Western Reserve University who has found similar trends in work with co-authors Stan Veuger and Philip Hoxie.

"For college-educated workers," he said, "it's more of a puzzle."

Affordability Issues Move Up Income Ladder

For these higher-education workers, it's not so easy to separate those who can't afford a city from those who can but leave anyway. Affordability is relative and personal; for one person it means making rent, for another it means making enough to also join a gym, buy concert tickets and dine out regularly. And even a professional who can afford all of that in New York may still eventually sour on the sixth-floor walk-up and the laundromat that comes with it.

It is clear, though, that affordability has broadly been eroding up the income spectrum in the country's most expensive metros. As these regions have become richer, that has, among other things, helped fuel the rise in their housing prices.

"And it ends up pricing out more and more people — not just people in the middle, but even people with higher incomes and college degrees," said Jed Kolko, the under secretary for economic affairs at the U.S. Department of Commerce (and a former Upshot contributor).

If the Bay Area, for one, ceased to be a land of opportunity more than a generation ago for bus drivers and home health aids, today it may be losing that appeal for engineers and consultants.

The sudden pandemic-era rise of remote work has also accelerated that shift. Remote work has driven demand for more space by white-collar workers in precisely the places where more space is hardest to come by. And remote work has altered the bargain that educated workers must swallow high living costs to access the highest wages.

"Now, highly educated and more high-income workers have an option that they've never had before," said Hans Johnson, a demographer with the Public Policy Institute of California. At least some of those workers can now keep (or accept) San Francisco jobs, while paying Houston or Charlotte living costs. Mr. Johnson suspects that helps explain why the whole state of California has now become a net domestic loser of college graduates.

"California is so beautiful, but it is a hard place to live," said Rebecca McGrail, 62, a school principal who moved with her husband, a consultant, and daughter from the San Francisco metro to Durham, N.C., in 2019. That sentiment encompasses wildfires, earthquake fears and traffic, she said, but above all the steep cost of everything from housing to a pizza dinner.

Expensive big metros have struggled the most to retain educated workers aged 40 to 64, who face the greatest exposure to steep mortgages, child care costs and big grocery bills. (Younger educated workers were at first a bulwark against that trend, but have increasingly migrated away from these regions, too.)

Jim Dalrymple II left Los Angeles when he reached that costly life stage — when the smallest, cheapest house he said he and his wife could find in the city was no longer big enough to fit children.

"I love L.A., I thought we would stay there indefinitely — I miss it still," said Mr. Dalrymple, a 41-year-old writer. When he and his wife concluded they couldn't afford to stay, they moved in 2019 to a much larger home within walking distance of downtown Salt Lake City. He recalled the abundant jobs and affordable housing that attracted his schoolteacher grandparents to Southern California two generations before he left.

"I would love to take advantage of all that myself," he said. "It's not available to us. And it's not available to a lot of people."

Garrett Lyon, a 40-year-old brand strategist, described having a similar realization in Seattle when he and his wife considered buying a home: "Seattle was crazy, absolutely, absolutely insanely expensive," he said. They could have afforded a home an hour outside the city, he said. Instead, they moved to Nashville.

Other college-educated workers who've moved away from the coasts described in interviews quality-of-life considerations that go beyond any simple accounting of wages versus living costs. They mention wanting furniture that would never fit in a New York elevator, or having a home office with a door that actually closes. They talk about not just cheaper housing, but washing machines, walk-in closets and walls to hang artwork.

Some describe frustration that even people who've followed typical routes to success — get a degree, save up money, work your way up to better-paying jobs — still struggle to live comfortably in coastal metros.

"The threshold is just so high," Eduardo Lerro, 45, said of the income required to get by in New York. He was a public-school teacher in the city, then recently became a higher-paid consultant who could live elsewhere. In 2021, he moved home to the Minneapolis area.

Metro New York has long lost more college graduates than it gains through domestic migration (a steady influx of immigrants has historically helped make up for that population loss). But while New York continues to attract more than 100,000 inbound working-age graduates annually, the number departing has grown steadily and topped more than 200,000 in the most recent year of census data — which encompasses Mr. Lerro's move.

"My living room is bigger than any apartment in New York I ever had," he said. And that was true even with a Ph.D. and a good job.

'There's an Incredible Concentration of Wealth'

Prosperous cities have long grappled with the imbalance created by an exodus of lower-wage workers. Their departures stress businesses needing to hire lower-wage staff, and they fray working-class neighborhoods that have lost residents. The high cost of living in big coastal metros also means that many lower-income households are blocked from moving into places with plentiful jobs and a stronger safety net. It's bad for these regions, too, when essential workers like firefighters or child care providers can't afford to live there.

The migration of college-educated residents away from these same places, on the other hand, raises a more muddled set of questions. Domestic migration is zero-sum, meaning a loss of college graduates prized by local officials and tax collectors in Washington or San Francisco can be a gain for Kansas City or Orlando. And researchers who study inequality say it would be a good thing if college graduates (and their spending power) were less clustered on the coasts.

"There's an incredible concentration of wealth in these superstar cities that is unhealthy," said David Autor, an economist at M.I.T. whose work has traced the disappearance over time of good big-city jobs for less educated workers. "It also means a lot of the affluence that goes with that is very concentrated among a small set of people."

While it may be good for the country for that affluence to spread out more, some of the forces that appear to be driving this shift — like a coastal housing shortage, and political paralysis around solving it — are hardly positive.

"It's a side benefit of a very messy, costly thing," said Adam Ozimek, the chief economist at the Economic Innovation Group, a think tank focused on the widening inequality in America between prosperous and struggling places.

College-educated workers leaving the most expensive parts of the country are also not spreading out equally everywhere — or even going to parts of the country that are struggling. Most are going to what could be considered the next price tier of big metros. And since the pandemic, more are going to smaller metro areas and even rural parts of the country.

These migration patterns may also reflect the fact that many cities outside coastal America have themselves changed over the last 20 years. More of them have developed the amenities associated first with big coastal cities: revitalized downtowns, brewpubs, loft apartment conversions, diverse restaurant scenes.

"Some of it is that the most expensive places got really expensive," Rebecca Diamond, a Stanford economist, said of shifting migration patterns. "But also, the middle-tier places became more attractive."

Since 2000, she has found, college graduates have increasingly been moving toward high-amenity cities and away from the highest-wage ones. "Consumer cities," as she puts it, are increasingly replacing "producer cities" as the places where college graduates want to live.

In interviews, several movers described not just the appeal in their new homes of more space and a lower cost of living, but also the sense that they hadn't given up too much to gain those benefits. To a growing degree, they said, what they left behind they can find in Charlotte, Denver, Minneapolis, Salt Lake City, Dallas or Louisville.

Those places today may promise something like 90 percent of the city life of a big coastal metro at 60 or 70 percent of the cost. And that trade-off is particularly alluring for some workers choosing between a central neighborhood in a more affordable city or a far-flung home in the coastal exurbs.

"There's never been a time since I moved here where I was like, 'Dang, I wish I could do something I used to be able to do back in D.C.,'" said Jonathan Ruckman, 42, who moved to Louisville from Washington in 2013.

On the other hand, he can do in Louisville things he believes he couldn't afford to in D.C., including buying a home as a public-interest lawyer.

Decisions like his are noteworthy not because a lawyer, a consultant or a brand strategist who moves across the country counts for more than a waitress who does, but because their decisions say something broader about the places they've left behind and the options available to others there.

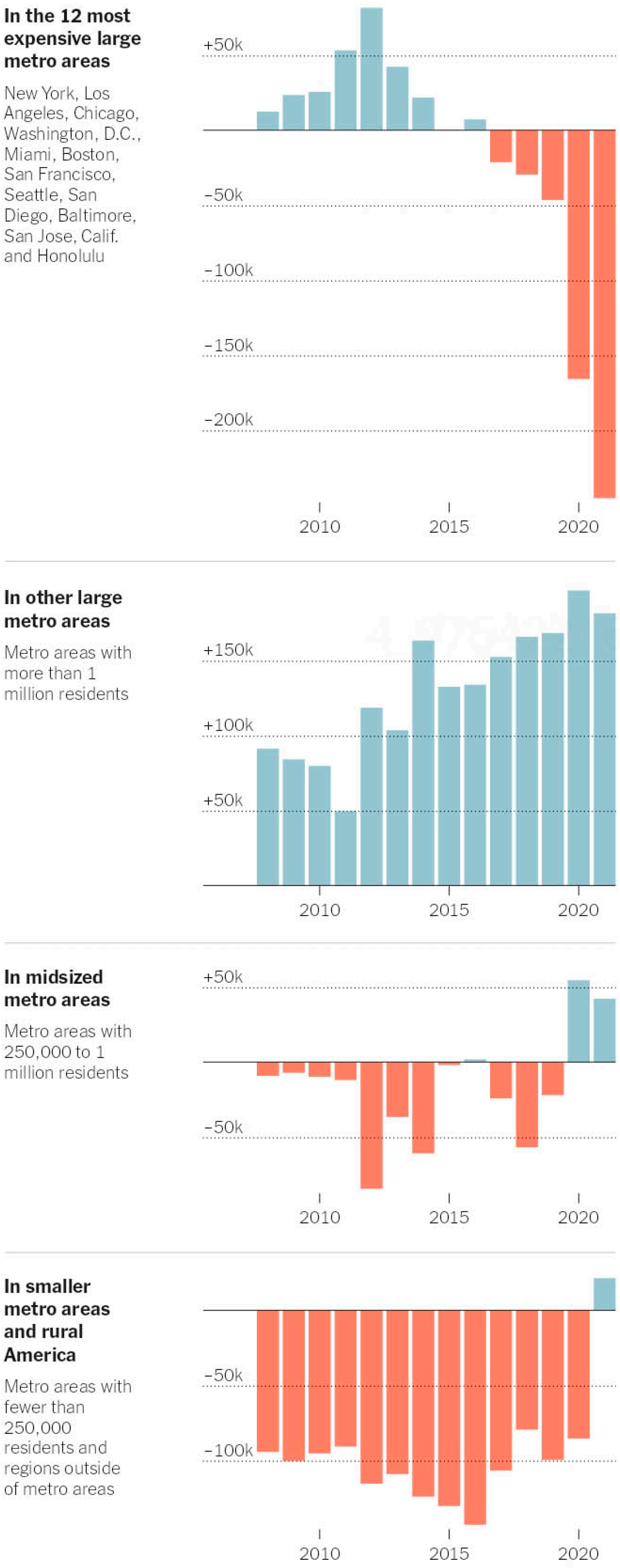
"This is about choice, and who has choices," said Abigail Wozniak, who directs the Opportunity and Inclusive Growth Institute at the Minneapolis Fed. That means, she said, that we have to understand what goes into the choices visible in this data to recognize what choices are closed to other people — like the teacher who might like to move to California but can't afford to and never does, or the nursing assistant who won't make it in New York because even an entrepreneur can't.

"I had these dreams about opening a business," said Laura Newman, 33, who wanted to own her own bar in her native New York City. "I really wanted to pursue those dreams. And it didn't matter how much money I saved, because the cost of achieving those goals increased as I was saving money."

And so she moved to Birmingham, Ala., in 2017 and opened her first bar there instead.

Net Domestic Migration of Working-Age College Graduates

Educated workers, starting even before the pandemic began, have been migrating away from the most prosperous parts of the country.

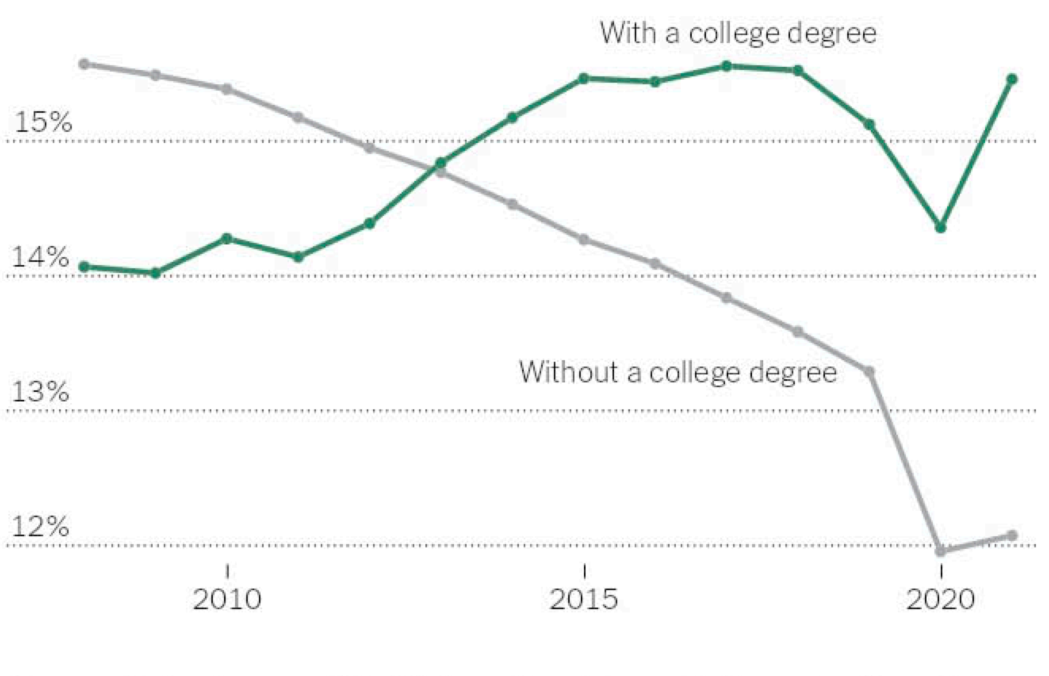


Source: Upshot analysis of one-year American Community Survey microdata from ipums.org. Note: Figures show domestic migration for Americans ages 21 to 64 who moved between metro areas.

An Emerging Divide

Mobility has risen for college-educated workers, even as it has fallen for workers without a degree.

Share of working-age Americans who moved in the previous year



Figures are for Americans ages 21 to 64 who said they had moved in the previous 12 months.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

METHODOLOGY To identify these patterns, The Upshot looked at an anonymized sample of individual responses to the annual American Community Survey, which asks people detailed demographic questions, as well as whether they have moved in the previous year. We took the smaller geographies associated with each mover's origin and destination, and allocated those moves to larger counties and current metropolitan areas (or rural parts of states). We removed from the analysis people living in group quarters, active members of the military and movers from abroad. We restricted the core working-age demographic to people 21 to 64 years old. Metro areas were then ranked by a cost-of-living index created by the Bureau of Economic Analysis that encompasses housing, food, transportation and other burdens on consumers.

TheUpshot

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DeSantis Charms Iowa, Besting an Absent Trump

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida and his wife, Casey DeSantis, at an Iowa Republican Party reception in Cedar Rapids on Saturday.

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS and MAGGIE HABERMAN

For the first time in months, Gov. Ron DeSantis on Saturday showed the aggressive political instincts that his allies have long insisted he would demonstrate in a contest against former President Donald J. Trump.

After headlining two successful political events in Iowa, Mr. DeSantis made an unscheduled stop in Des Moines — a move aimed at highlighting the fact that Mr. Trump had abruptly postponed a planned Saturday evening rally in the area because of reports of possible severe weather.

Mr. Trump's explanation for postponing the event drew skepticism from local Iowa officials and derision from DeSantis allies about the "beautiful" weather. And Mr. DeSantis — who has avoided direct conflict with Mr. Trump — essentially kicked sand in the former president's face by coming to an area that Mr. Trump claimed to have been told was too dangerous for him to visit.

After wrapping up his events on Saturday evening elsewhere in the state, Mr. DeSantis headed to Jethro's BBQ Southside, where he and his wife, Casey DeSantis, stood on a table outside and spoke to a cheering crowd. The barbecue joint was a short drive from where Mr. Trump had planned to host his own rally.

"My better half and I have been able to be all over Iowa today, but before we went back to Florida we wanted to come by and say hi to the people of Des Moines," a grinning Mr. DeSantis said. "So thank you all for coming out. It's a beautiful night, it's been a great day for us."

Mr. DeSantis's pointed pit stop was a clear rebuke to Mr. Trump, who has tried to torment the Florida governor for months, mocking him for his falling poll numbers and perceived dearth of charisma. Mr. DeSantis's resistance to hitting back while not a declared candidate as he finished the state's legislative session, combined with a handful of unforced errors, had allowed the former president to take control of the race for 2024 and frustrated some of Mr. DeSantis's allies.

But as he prepares to take on Mr. Trump, who has dominated every Republican he has campaigned against in the past, Mr. DeSantis moved to show he doesn't intend to suffer the same result.

"If someone's punching you in the face, you better punch them back," said Terry Sullivan, who managed the 2016 presidential campaign of Senator Marco Rubio of Florida — a race in which Mr. Rubio was criticized for not fighting back enough against Mr. Trump.

Mr. DeSantis has been outflanked by Mr. Trump's team at various turns until now. Saturday was the first time Mr. DeSantis has taken advantage of an opportunity to show up Mr. Trump over a perceived misstep.

While Mr. Trump canceled his Iowa appearance, he later called in to an event hosted by the ReAwaken America Tour, a Christian nationalist, far-right movement led by Lt. Gen. Michael T. Flynn, the QAnon promoter and national security adviser who Mr. Trump forced out early in his term. The group, which helps promote conspiracy theories, paid one of Mr. Trump's clubs in Florida, the Doral, to hold it there.

Mr. DeSantis needs to string together many more days like Saturday in a campaign that will rely heavily on winning the Iowa caucus early next year. But Republican activists in the state say there is an opening with caucus-goers for someone other than Mr. Trump. And the visit Saturday, where he also traveled to Sioux Center — populated by Christian conservatives whose support he must gain — was seen as a positive development by Republicans who want to defeat Mr. Trump but have been dismayed by Mr. DeSantis's stumbles as he steps onto the national stage.

And while Mr. Trump still leads in the state, according to the latest public polling, his team had also so lowered the bar for Mr. DeSantis's first outing with weeks of merciless mocking that by merely showing up and not committing any significant gaffes with crowds that were eager to check him out, he fared well.

Despite the unforeseen — albeit indirect — jab at Jethro's, the governor is unlikely to criticize Mr. Trump directly until after he formally announces his campaign, according to two people familiar with his political operation. And even when he does jump into the race, which is expected to happen imminently, he will largely focus on contrasting his record with Mr. Trump's — particularly on issues like the coronavirus pandemic — while making the case that he is the candidate better equipped to defeat President Biden in a general election.

It's a strategy that avoids relitigating Mr. Trump's false claims about the 2020 election, and one the governor is foreshadowing as he barnstorms Republican events around the country. It also positions Mr. DeSantis — who is decades younger than the 76-year-old Mr. Trump, who was recently indicted and faces the possibility of additional ones in other investigations — as interested in the future and not the past.

"If we make this election about a referendum on Joe Biden and his failed policies, and we provide a positive alternative to take America in a new direction, I think Republicans will win across the board," Mr. DeSantis said at a Saturday evening fund-raiser for the Republican Party of Iowa in Cedar Rapids. That event was shown on Fox News during time that Mr. Trump had claimed Fox News was reserving to show his rally.

Mr. DeSantis's message is already appealing to some voters, including Amy Seeger, who traveled from Milwaukee to see him speak earlier in the day at a picnic in Sioux Center.

"I would vote for a shoe over Trump," Ms. Seeger said in an interview. "It is time to move forward. Trump is very wrapped up in 2020 and playing the victim."

Mr. DeSantis also used the Iowa trip to show off the sometimes enigmatic lighter side of his personality, flipping burgers at the picnic and talking about his life as a family man with his wife at the evening fund-raiser in Cedar Rapids.

At that second event, Ms. DeSantis joined her husband on stage for an interview conducted by the state Republican Party chair, Jeff Kaufmann, following remarks from the governor. Mr. DeSantis's stump speech focuses almost exclusively on policy, leaving out the biographical details that politicians are generally expected to supply. His wife seemed to try to fill in those gaps, telling personal stories about Mr. DeSantis's childhood in Florida, his military service, and their three young children.

"When he gets home, don't think for a second that he goes and goes right to bed," she said. "I hand three small kids over to him, and I go to bed."

The moment resonated with the crowd. "There was a tender side to him, a family side, that I didn't really have an appreciation for," said Bob Carlson, a physician from Muscatine who was in the audience.

As Mr. DeSantis builds toward an announcement, he is beginning to show other signs of political strength in ways that matter beyond having financial backing. The outing to Iowa — where he is expected to make a return visit fairly soon — came as a super PAC backing his all-but-official presidential campaign announced support from 37 state lawmakers. Local elected officials tend to pay less attention to national polls than members of Congress, who have been slower to endorse the governor.

In contrast, Mr. Trump — who had scheduled a rally to try to blot out Mr. DeSantis's visit by appearing on the same day — abruptly called off his own event in the middle of the afternoon, citing a tornado watch.

Steven Cheung, a spokesman for Mr. Trump's campaign, said the Iowa event was sold out but that "due to the National Weather Service's Tornado Watch in effect in Polk and surrounding counties, we were unfortunately forced to postpone the event. We will be there at the first available date."

But although it rained heavily at points — Des Moines was deluged with a sudden squall accompanied with a tornado warning, but it passed in about a half hour, and the rally site was bathed in sunlight when the news of the cancellation hit. The absence of severe weather raised questions among Iowans about whether Mr. Trump was concerned he would fail to draw the crowd he had anticipated. The lack of dangerous storms was noted by local activists who want to see the party move on from Mr. Trump.

"We're all outside on a nice night," the influential podcast host Steve Deace wrote on Twitter from the scene of Mr. DeSantis's barbecue victory lap. "Pretty big crowd too. No severe weather in sight. Planes landing and taking off as scheduled."

Mr. DeSantis's hope for a win in the Iowa caucuses involves uniting a careful coalition of social conservatives who backed candidates like Rick Santorum and Mike Huckabee in 2016, along with suburban moderates who went for Mr. Rubio.

Yet Mr. DeSantis may be poised to pick up support from enough corners of the state to increase his support. For instance, the influential social conservative leader Bob Vander Plaats has met with the governor and has praised him publicly.

Mr. DeSantis's day was also punctuated with appearances with Senator Joni Ernst and Gov. Kim Reynolds, both Iowa Republicans. Those visits don't necessarily mean endorsements from those officials are in the offing, but they do indicate a willingness in the state to support someone other than Mr. Trump and less concern than once existed about retribution from the former president.

Bret Hayworth contributed reporting from Sioux Center, Iowa. Jonathan Weisman contributed reporting from Des Moines.

POLITICAL MEMO

It's Been a Tumultuous Week. What Does It Tell Us About 2024?

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

Eighteen months is an eternity in politics.

But rapid-fire and high-profile events over the past week have set the tone and clarified the stakes of a still nascent presidential race featuring an incumbent president and a Republican front-runner whom many Americans, according to polling, do not want as their choices — but may feel resigned to accept.

The week began with a surprising poll — probably an outlier — that showed President Biden losing to both former President Donald J. Trump and his closest presumptive primary competitor, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida.

Then in quick succession came a jury's verdict holding Mr. Trump liable for sexual abuse, a raucous New Hampshire town hall that brought the former president's falsehoods and bluster back into the spotlight, the lifting of pandemic-era controls at the U.S.-Mexico border, and a raft of endorsements for Mr. DeSantis — and an unscheduled visit to show up Mr. Trump — in Iowa that showed many Republican leaders are open to a Trump alternative.

All of that left leaders, strategists and voters in both parties exceptionally anxious.

"We're in the midst of a primary that has yet to even really form, and meanwhile the opportunity to pound Biden into dirt with his incompetence is slipping," said Dave Carney, a longtime Republican consultant in New Hampshire, where the first Republican primary votes will be cast in February. "It's scattershot right now."

Democrats, who would be expected to rally around their standard-bearer, have spent the week expressing a divide on border security and questioning the president on key policy issues.

Strategists have begged Democratic voters to get over their discontent and accept the president as the best they're going to get.

"Live in the real world," Stuart Stevens, the longtime Republican political consultant who bolted from the party as Mr. Trump rose to power, exhorted after the New Hampshire town hall. "If you saw Donald Trump tonight and aren't supporting Biden, you are helping elect Trump. It's not complicated."

Representative Ro Khanna of California, a liberal Democrat often willing to say openly what other rank-and-file Democrats won't, laid out a vision for economic renewal in a Friday speech in New Hampshire that contrasted the president's more modest ambitions with his failure to secure the allegiance of white working-class voters whom Mr. Biden has said he is uniquely qualified to win back.

"People are so desperate for some healing, for leadership that can unify," Mr. Khanna told Democrats at a dinner in Nashua. "We do not need to compromise who we are to find common cause."

In an interview on Saturday, he said it was not meant to be a criticism. But it was "an appeal for a bolder platform that captures the imagination of working-class Americans and inspires them."

There's no question that political predictions this far from an election are unreliable. Mr. DeSantis has yet to declare his candidacy for the White House, though he and Mr. Trump have been circling each other and competing in a shadow contest in Iowa and New Hampshire, the first contests for the Republican presidential nomination. Even Iowa voters tend not to tune in to the race until later in the year, noted David Kochel, a longtime Iowa Republican consultant.

Still, the question of the moment remains: Where are we?

Simon Rosenberg, who correctly predicted that a surge of Democratic activism would blunt the promised "red wave" of the 2022 midterms, said the "fear of MAGA" that powered Democratic victories in 2018, 2020 and 2022 had not diminished ahead of 2024. If anything, abortion bans rolling from state to state across the country, a disheartening surge in mass shootings and a Republican assault on educational freedom will only sharpen those fears, he said.

Mr. Trump's performance at a CNN town hall on Wednesday evening — in which the former president repeatedly lied about the 2020 election; mocked E. Jean Carroll, whose accusations of sexual abuse and defamation ended in a $5 million judgment against him; and promised a return to some of his least popular policies — only reiterated why Democrats, independents and disaffected Republicans have turned away from the G.O.P. in the key states of Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

CNN

A raucous New Hampshire town hall on Wednesday brought Donald J. Trump's falsehoods and bluster back into the spotlight.

JOHN MINCHILLO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A jury's verdict on Tuesday held Mr. Trump liable for the sexual abuse of E. Jean Carroll and imposed a $5 million judgment.

The Biden re-election campaign, now in full gear after his formal announcement last month, was making the case to reporters after the town hall, pointing to Mr. Trump's pride in the overturning of Roe v. Wade; his dismissive take on the economic catastrophe that could ensue if the federal government defaults on its outstanding debt; his referring to Jan. 6, 2021, as "a beautiful day"; and his refusal to commit to accepting the 2024 election results.

One Biden campaign adviser suggested that Mr. Trump had supplied a trove of material for attack ads. The campaign began posting videos almost immediately. Mr. DeSantis's super PAC, Never Back Down, called the 70-minute performance "over an hour of nonsense."

The crucial question for both parties in 2024 is how to retain the voters they have and regain those they have lost.

"It's hard to understand how someone could vote for Joe Biden in 2020 and Trump in 2024, given that Trump is just going to get more Trumpy," Mr. Rosenberg said, adding, "I'd still much rather be us than them."

Mr. Rosenberg's assessment may be why 37 Republican officials in Iowa, including the State Senate president, Amy Sinclair, and the House majority leader, Matt Windschitl, endorsed Mr. DeSantis last week, as did the New Hampshire House majority leader, Jason Osborne.

Republican consultants in both states said Mr. Trump's universal name recognition and political persona might give him the highest floor for Republican support, but the same factors lower the ceiling of that support, giving Mr. DeSantis and other challengers a real chance to take him down, if they are willing to take it.

The Trump campaign seemed aware of that dynamic last week as it attacked would-be rivals, not only those clearly preparing to enter the race but also some far from it. On Saturday, Mr. Trump laid into Georgia's Republican governor, Brian Kemp, for being disloyal, just days after an article in The Atlanta Journal-Constitution suggested the governor was keeping his options open.

Mr. DeSantis has had his own stumbles out of the gate. His war with Disney has provided fodder for rivals who have questioned a Republican's intrusion into the free market. His signing of a six-week abortion ban and his state's aggressive censorship of school textbooks have raised questions among would-be Republican donors and swing voters alike. But the Florida governor also has plenty of time to make his case.

"There's a lot of game left to play, and I don't see anything gelling yet," Mr. Kochel said. "There's still a lot of room for candidates not named Trump."

What Republicans seem most amazed by is the docility of Democrats in the face of Mr. Biden's obvious weaknesses. Age and infirmity are real issues, not Republican talking points, consultants say.

A Washington Post-ABC News poll published on Monday showed Mr. Biden losing head-to-head races against Mr. Trump and Mr. DeSantis by between five and six percentage points. Democratic pollsters have dismissed those results, pointing to anomalies like the poll's showing Mr. Trump winning young voters outright while dramatically closing the gap with Mr. Biden for Black and Hispanic votes.

Even so, there was much in the poll to undermine Mr. Biden's claim that he, more than any other Democrat, can vanquish a Republican comeback just as he defeated Mr. Trump in 2020.

Republicans say that's just not possible.

Mr. Carney said the dynamic would get worse, not better, as the 2024 campaign took shape. Chaotic scenes from the southwestern border in the coming weeks will inflame Republican voters' fears of an "invasion" of illegal immigrants; the Republican National Committee on Friday held the president responsible for 1.4 million "gotaway" migrants that it said had crossed the border and disappeared into the interior since he took office.

More important, the situation at the border could crystallize a sense among swing voters that Mr. Biden is simply not in control. With erstwhile allies like New York's mayor, Eric Adams, and Chicago's outgoing mayor, Lori Lightfoot, pleading for assistance with a flood of migrants, that conclusion will not be contained to Republican voters.

The brewing showdown over how to raise the federal government's borrowing limit threatens to provoke a catastrophic financial crisis as soon as next month. And while voters might blame Republicans in Congress at first, economic turmoil eventually ends up in the president's lap.

Perhaps Mr. Biden's voters will not defect back to Mr. Trump, Republicans agree, but they could simply stay home on Election Day.

"Democrats keep saying, 'Oh, Trump's so bad it doesn't matter,'" Mr. Kochel said. "I don't know. I think it matters."

Adams Says He's a Progressive. The Left in New York Begs to Differ.

From Page A1

and state, supported charter school expansion and called for reducing the flow of migrants in rhetoric that critics have called xenophobic. He has also proposed budget cuts that could hurt key services like libraries, arguing that all city agencies must be fiscally prudent at a time when the city's cost of the spiraling migrant crisis is expected to be well over $1 billion — a factor that was not in play for previous mayors.

And last week, the mayoral-controlled Rent Guidelines Board proposed another year of sizable increases for the city's roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments — the highest back-to-back increases since Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg was in office.

Left-leaning Democrats question whether Mr. Adams's approach — sometimes more akin to Mr. Bloomberg or even the former Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani — is appropriate for New York, one of the most liberal cities in the nation. But the mayor says that his brand of pragmatic politics is exactly what the city needs, and what his core constituency of working-class New Yorkers wants.

"It's not comfortable for people when they can't put you in this box," Mr. Adams, the city's second Black mayor, said in an interview. "I said from the time that I was running that people are not going to be able to fit me in a box."

He acknowledged that some of his views are considered conservative, but said that others were "extremely liberal," pointing to his support for free buses and tax credits for poor New Yorkers. Mr. Adams, who grew up in the Church of Christ, said that many Democrats were religious and that his supporters agreed with his beliefs on faith and other issues.

"The overwhelming number of New Yorkers know that this guy is trying his darnedest to fix the problems in this city and that's what we're focused on," he said.

Mr. Adams emerged from a crowded field of Democratic contenders in the 2021 mayoral race as the most prominent and well-funded moderate candidate, focusing almost exclusively on a public safety message at a time when New Yorkers were anxious about crime. He won the primary by a slim margin — 7,197 votes — under a new ranked-choice voting system in which Mr. Adams was spared a primary runoff.

As mayor, Mr. Adams has mostly lived up to his campaign promises. He has been a charismatic cheerleader for the city as it recovers from the pandemic, keeping a relentless schedule of news conferences and community

PHOTOGRAPHS BY AHMED GABER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor Eric Adams says that some people find him objectionable because they can't "fit me in a box." Right, a memorial for Jordan Neely, a homeless man who was choked to death on the subway. Mr. Adams had been criticized for failing to condemn the killing.

events. He has pushed for tighter bail restrictions, increased the city's police presence, delighted in killing rats and is not bashful about enjoying a night on the town.

Many Democrats in New York City are Black and Latino voters who may well support much of the mayor's agenda, including his emphasis on faith. Mr. Adams has maintained strong support among Black voters at 52 percent, even as his overall approval rating fell to 37 percent, according to a Quinnipiac University poll in February. Black voters were also more supportive of the mayor's handling of crime and homelessness than white voters.

But some voters have been disappointed by his new direction for the city. Mr. Adams has removed homeless encampments, pledged to remove mentally ill people from the streets involuntarily, defended the use of stop-and-frisk policing and resisted calls to close the Rikers Island jail complex by 2027. He was also endorsed by the city's major police union, only a year after the group backed President Donald J. Trump's re-election bid, and recently provided officers with generous raises as part of a new eight-year, $5.5 billion labor contract.

In the Crown Heights and East New York neighborhoods of Brooklyn, reaction to Mr. Adams's performance was mixed. Older voters tended to support the mayor, praising his effort, his energy and his devotion to public safety.

"He's fighting for the city, keeping the city cleaner, there's plenty of police all around," said Garfield Miller, 65, a carpenter who lives in East New York, and said he voted for Mr. Adams. Vibert David, 66, and his brother, Asworth David, 65, also voted for Mr. Adams, and said they would enthusiastically do so again.

"You got to be visible," Vibert David said. "As an old officer, he's doing good."

But others accused the mayor of trying to solve everything with more police, and said he was not doing enough to ease the city's problems with homelessness, mental illness and lack of affordable housing.

"He parties at 3 a.m. when he's supposed to be helping the city," said Ineze Thompson, 25, a barista who lives in Washington Heights in Manhattan.

On Friday, Mr. Adams was confronted with more direct blowback: When he began speaking at the CUNY School of Law graduation ceremony, many graduates turned their backs to him.

"When the mayor is cutting things like libraries and schools, it really begs the question: Who is the constituency who he feels accountable to, and what is the legacy he wants to leave behind?" said Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of the Working Families Party in New York.

The Working Families Party and other progressive Democrats have made great strides in New York, winning seats and pushing a left-leaning agenda on the City Council and in the State Legislature. Earlier this year, progressive lawmakers were even were able to nix Gov. Kathy Hochul's nominee for the state's top judge, Justice Hector D. LaSalle, because of fears that he was too conservative. But they have also been frustrated on some key issues because the two most influential elected officials in New York, Ms. Hochul and Mr. Adams, often do not align with their views.

Mr. Adams, who was a registered Republican in the 1990s, is friendly with Republicans and the real estate industry, appearing regularly on a conservative radio show. He chides "woke" members of his party and recently named Jimmy Oddo, a Republican, to head the Buildings Department, replacing another Republican who held the job.

The mayor has quarreled with left-leaning leaders, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, though they appeared to reach a détente in March when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez visited Gracie Mansion for dinner. But after Mr. Neely's death, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez accused Mr. Adams of reaching a "new low" in his stoic response.

"Killing the mentally ill is wrong," Ms. Ocasio-Cortez wrote on Twitter. "Why is that so hard to say?"

Some Democrats believe that Mr. Adams will face a challenge from the left in 2025, and their hopes were buoyed by recent mayoral victories by Karen Bass in Los Angeles and Brandon Johnson in Chicago, who were both endorsed by the progressive Working Families Party. Running against a "tough on crime" candidate, Mr. Johnson won on a public safety message that went beyond policing, focusing on youth employment and mental health services.

"Eric Adams's bluster and rhetorical style has caught a lot of people's attention, but his policy positions are deeply out of step with what most big, blue-city voters want," said Anna Bahr, a Democratic political strategist who worked on the Bass and Johnson campaigns.

Some of Mr. Adams's rhetoric may have frayed his relationship with President Biden. After the mayor harshly criticized the president's handling of the migrant crisis, his name was quietly removed this week from an initial list of national surrogates for Mr. Biden's re-election campaign.

The mayor has, at times, seemed to acquiesce to the criticism. On Wednesday, the mayor delivered a speech designed to soften his stance on Mr. Neely's death, called for more help for homeless New Yorkers, and said clearly for the first time that "Jordan Neely did not deserve to die."

Two days later, Daniel Penny, a Marine veteran who applied the chokehold to Mr. Neely, was charged with second-degree manslaughter, and Mr. Adams welcomed the news, saying, "now justice can move forward against Daniel Penny."

In the interview, Mr. Adams said that he identified as progressive — just not the brand embodied by the Democratic Socialists of America. In fact, he said that the "far left" had won major successes during his administration on issues like the environment, including citywide composting, and programs to assist young people involved in the justice system.

Mr. Adams has also been a vocal supporter of abortion rights and Democratic social issues. During his campaign, he crafted a plan to help poor people, through tax credits, low cost child care and a new website to access city benefits, and he is following through on those measures.

"I am a combination of just about every mayor, from Koch to Dinkins — I'm skipping over Giuliani — to Bloomberg to de Blasio," he said. "I'm a combination of all those guys because I learned from all of them."

Liset Cruz and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

Haley Declines to Endorse A Federal Ban on Abortions

By MAGGIE ASTOR

The Republican presidential candidate Nikki Haley refused on Sunday to endorse a federal abortion ban at a specific number of weeks' gestation, saying that to do so would be to lie to the American people about what is politically possible.

"I think the media has tried to divide them by saying we have to decide certain weeks," Ms. Haley said in an interview on CBS News's "Face the Nation." "In states, yes. At the federal level, it's not realistic. It's not being honest with the American people."

She was responding to a question from her interviewer, Margaret Brennan, about why she would not join another likely candidate, Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, in endorsing a 20-week national ban.

Ms. Haley has said — and she repeated in the interview — that the Senate filibuster makes it impossible to pass a federal abortion ban as strict as the ones that many Republican-led states have passed since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade last year, and that any anti-abortion president will therefore need to find a "national consensus." (A Republican Senate majority could, if it chose, remove the filibuster.) But her comments on Sunday stood out for the explicitness of her rejection of committing to a gestational limit.

That refusal is particularly noteworthy because just last month one of the nation's most prominent anti-abortion groups praised her for, it said, indicating that she would support a federal ban at 15 weeks. The group, S.B.A. Pro-Life America, has said it will not endorse a candidate who doesn't pledge to go at least that far.

At no point had Ms. Haley made such a commitment publicly; in a speech at S.B.A. headquarters on April 25, she stuck to her "national consensus" line. But at the time the group told a reporter for The Hill that it had been "assured she would set national consensus at 15 weeks."

S.B.A. did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Sunday.

Ms. Haley, who signed a 20-week ban as the governor of South Carolina, is far from the only Republican trying to avoid specifics on abortion.

Former President Donald J. Trump's campaign has said he wants to leave the issue to states. Former Gov. Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas has called himself "pro-life" while hedging on details. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, who is likely to enter the presidential race soon, recently signed a six-week ban in his state but has not gotten behind anything similar at the federal level.

One potential candidate, Gov. Chris Sununu of New Hampshire, went in the opposite direction on Sunday. In an interview on MSNBC's "Inside With Jen Psaki," Mr. Sununu, who describes himself as pro-choice but who signed a ban on most abortions after 24 weeks in his state, said the federal government should not be involved at all.

"Not only would I not sign a national abortion ban, but nobody should be talking about signing a national abortion ban," he said.

Most candidates are walking a tightrope between social conservatives — who are an influential part of the Republican base and have been waiting decades for the opportunity to ban abortion nationwide — and the political reality that the Supreme Court's Dobbs ruling and the wave of state-level bans that followed have turned anti-abortion policies into serious liabilities among Americans at large.

That has been made clear through a series of election results, starting with Kansas voters' overwhelming rejection last August of an anti-abortion constitutional amendment and continuing through Wisconsin voters' election last month of a liberal Supreme Court justice who pledged to support abortion rights.

Play Inspired by College Sex Cult Hits Close to Home

By COREY KILGANNON

Carson Marie Earnest, a New York City actress, recently came across a casting call for a "darkly funny, cautionary play in two acts, based on the true story of Larry Ray and the 'sex cult' at Sarah Lawrence College."

"Oh my gosh, I know this story," thought Ms. Earnest, who several years earlier had been shocked when the news broke in 2019 just as she was set to graduate from the school just north of the city.

"Everyone was talking about it," Ms. Earnest said. She soon learned that a writing teacher at Sarah Lawrence, Melvin Jules Bukiet, had written the play with one of his former students, Finnegan Shepard.

"The circumstances were intrinsically dramatic," Mr. Bukiet said. "It just felt like it wanted to be on a stage."

And so "Runts" will open Monday at the Teatro Latea on the Lower East Side as part of the New York Theater Festival.

Mr. Bukiet called the play "loosely based" on reality: It is set at a verdant liberal arts college near New York City and the plot largely mirrors how Mr. Ray moved into his daughter's dorm and then took over her suitemates' lives for years.

The production has no formal connection to the college. But as it happens, six of the 10 people involved do, from the director, Oliver Conant, a graduate, to the lighting technician, who is a current student.

Mr. Bukiet wrote the play without consulting the Sarah Lawrence administration, which would probably prefer the story not resurface, and had no comment for this article.

Mr. Bukiet figures tenure will protect his job — "At least, I hope so" — but added, "I'm not going to stand under any windows outside the administration building. That's for sure."

Some of Mr. Ray's victims objected to their travails becoming fodder for a play that bills itself as "darkly funny."

Daniel Barban Levin, now a writer in Los Angeles who published a book about his experience, called the production an "insidious" revictimization. After suffering under Mr. Ray, he said, "It's hard for me to hear that a Sarah Lawrence teacher, a representative of Sarah Lawrence, is taking more from us."

"It's enough to get tortured, but when people further exploit our trauma it only duplicates the experience of our lives being stolen all over again," he said.

Mr. Bukiet said the real-life story was merely a "spark" for a dramatic exploration of "how susceptible people can be."

He avoided researching the details "because I didn't want the reality of it to intrude on my imagination," and said he was confident the play would deepen a viewer's empathy.

At a recent rehearsal, the actors ran through scenes, beginning with the main character, Zander Bay, a tough guy with a shady past, showing up at his daughter Jane's townhouse dorm and moving in. Mr. Ray had showed up in 2010 fresh out of prison and needing a couch to crash on.

Like Mr. Ray, Zander is a master manipulator who works his way into the minds of vulnerable students. Through counseling sessions and "family" meetings, he coerces them into sex, theft and prostitution.

Participants in the production said they expected Sarah Lawrence graduates would make up a good portion of the audience.

"All of us were drawn to this because it's a therapeutic way to discuss the situation," Ms. Earnest said, acknowledging that discomfort remains.

"I still feel a bit of that trepidation going into rehearsal," she said. "I'm nervous about representing the story in the correct way, especially because I have that connection to the school.

"I don't want to represent Sarah Lawrence negatively," she added. "It was a great place and I'm glad I went there."

Her familiarity with the college has helped her embody Jane, a role she auditioned for because of her fascination with Talia Ray: "How could someone let their father come in and do this?" she said.

Zander is played by Jack Coggins, a schoolteacher from Hoboken, N.J., whose son attended Sarah Lawrence. "I'm going from trying to be the ideal Sarah Lawrence parent to the most evil one you can imagine," Mr. Coggins said.

He said Mr. Ray "was definitely in my consciousness" when he saw the casting call for a manipulative, Rasputin-like "bad dad."

"It helped that I knew Sarah Lawrence, because I could see how someone could become a wolf in sheep's clothing and could stay anonymous for a long time without being discovered by the administration," he said.

The director, Mr. Conant, said his son, who graduated shortly after Mr. Ray was on campus, liked the play. But his mother, Miriam Bernheim Conant, 91, who taught political theory at Sarah Lawrence for 40 years, was "appalled."

"She said, 'Isn't this just dirty laundry?' " he said.

"From the school's perspective, it might be regarded as that," he said. "But I see it as a story about conformists following a con man, and that's a story that looms very large in this country right now."

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The cast of "Runts," whose boosters say the play creates empathy for those who were manipulated at Sarah Lawrence College.

Melvin Jules Bukiet says his play is not likely to please the college's administration, but he places his trust in tenure.

AHMED GABER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A message at the station where the train carrying Jordan Neely stopped. New York City contracts a nonprofit to reach out to homeless people who stay in the subways.

Homeless Man Killed on Subway Was on City's Radar for Years

From Page A1

people who are transient and elusive, let alone getting them to accept help.

In a speech this week, Mr. Adams called the group that maintains the list "the guiding force" behind the city's efforts to help people like Mr. Neely "stabilize and heal from the ravages of homelessness and long-term, untreated psychosis."

The goal of the list is to connect disparate bureaucracies across a vast city, in which a group of people with intense needs regularly interacts with hospital personnel, street social workers and police officers who do not regularly interact with each other.

The people on the list are among the city's "most entrenched and chronic patients," the mayor's senior adviser for severe mental illness, Brian Stettin, said in an interview, and are discussed at weekly meetings of the task force.

The group that monitors the list, known formally as the Coordinated Behavioral Health Task Force, consists of workers from across city government, including the Departments of Health, Homeless Services and Hospitals, along with representatives of the nonprofits that the city contracts with to try to connect homeless people to shelter and services, a process known as outreach.

At the weekly meetings, Mr. Stettin said, task force members exchange updates on the people on the list — "what their current needs seem to be" and in some cases "how their conditions have changed to the point where we have to start thinking about different ways we can approach their cases."

Top 50 is a bit of a misnomer. The list does not have a fixed number of people on it, and there are actually two lists — one for people who typically stay in the subways and one for people who stay in the streets. People can be taken off the list for any number of reasons, including moving into housing or going to jail.

Mr. Neely was on the subway list, according to an employee of the Bowery Residents' Committee, a group that has the city contract to do outreach in the subways.

Outreach workers in the subways are supposed to be familiar with all the names on the subway list, said the Bowery Residents' Committee employee, who spoke anonymously because they were not authorized to publicly discuss the matter.

When they encounter someone who is on it, the employee said, they are supposed to notify the Department of Homeless Services, which can arrange transport to a type of shelter known as a safe haven. Safe havens have fewer rules and restrictions than barrackslike group shelters and are often more appealing to the homeless people who typically avoid shelters.

For people on the street version of the list, which in early May included about 65 people, being on it can get someone badly needed services more quickly, said Juan Rivera, the outreach director for BronxWorks, which has the city contract to do street outreach in the Bronx.

Mr. Rivera described a man who had been staying at a BronxWorks safe haven, broken some windows in a rage and left for the streets. BronxWorks had him added to the Top 50 list, which allowed him to jump up the wait list to become a client of a street squad of clinicians known as an Intensive Mobile Treatment team.

Working with the mobile treatment team, the man regained stability and has moved into permanent housing, Mr. Rivera said.

"He's still connected with his team, and he's doing really well," he said.

As for Mr. Neely, he had been a fixture for years in the subway system — first in his teens and 20s as a gifted Michael Jackson impersonator who captivated commuters with his fluent moonwalking, and later, as he tumbled into mental illness and drug abuse, as a disheveled and sporadically violent man who racked up repeated arrests and trips to hospitals. Mr. Neely was on the list in 2019, when it was launched, and remained on it until his death, according to the Bowery Residents' Committee employee.

In February, Mr. Neely, who had been in jail on an assault charge for punching a 67-year-old woman and breaking several bones in her face, was released to a residential treatment program, under a plea deal that required him to avoid trouble for 15 months, stay on antipsychotic medication and not abuse drugs.

Two weeks later, he walked out of the facility and did not return, and the arrest warrant was issued.

In March, Mr. Neely was approached by homeless-outreach workers at a subway station in Manhattan. He was neatly dressed and calm, and accepted a ride to a shelter in the Bronx where he spent the night, according to outreach records shared with The New York Times.

But on April 8, when outreach workers found him at an end-of-the-line station in Coney Island, Mr. Neely, wearing dirty clothes riddled with burn holes, exposed himself and urinated inside a subway car, according to the notes shared with The Times.

Outreach workers, whose job requires them to win the trust of people who seek to avoid contact with the authorities, typically do not check for warrants, but they summoned the police, who ejected him from the station.

The police were also apparently unaware of the warrant. A program launched in 2019 in which the police did warrant checks on people caught violating transit-system rules was abandoned during the pandemic, after criticism that it was criminalizing homelessness.

The workers in Coney Island learned only the next day that the person they had met was a man on the Top 50 list, case notes show.

A note later filed by an outreach worker about the encounter reads prophetically: "Due to client's aggressive behavior, he could be a harm to others or himself if left untreated and not assessed by a mental health professional."

Under a directive issued by Mr. Adams last fall, people in such a severe state of psychological crisis that they are a danger to themselves or to others are supposed to be taken to a hospital for evaluation, involuntarily if needed.

End-of-the-line subway outreach teams typically include nurses who work for the city and are trained to do field assessments of people and have them transported to hospitals. Outreach notes do not indicate whether a nurse evaluated Mr. Neely at Coney Island.

Mr. Neely had been hospitalized involuntarily in the past, but does not appear to have been during the last months of his life.

Lauren McCarthy contributed reporting.

N.J. Lawyer Found Guilty Of Murdering His Girlfriend

By TRACEY TULLY

NEWARK — James Ray III, a lawyer and former New York City police officer, was convicted on Friday of killing his girlfriend of nine years in the home they shared in an affluent suburb of New Jersey.

The jury verdict came after just a few hours of deliberation, more than four years after Mr. Ray fired the fatal gunshots in his six-bedroom home in Montclair, a commuter town about 20 miles west of Manhattan.

A former Marine, Mr. Ray, now 60, had maintained that he acted on military instinct and shot Angela Bledsoe, 44, in self-defense after she pointed a gun toward him.

After the Oct. 22, 2018, shooting, Mr. Ray spent hours alone in the home, testimony during the six-week trial showed. He printed out a will, wrote checks and typed a letter to his brother.

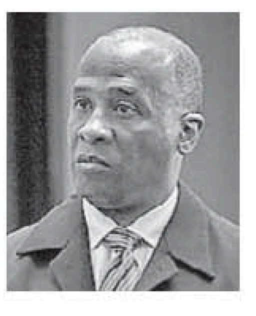
Afterward, he dropped the couple's daughter, Alana, then 6, with his brother and left his car at Newark Liberty International Airport before taking a taxicab to Philadelphia. Over the next week, Mr. Ray hitchhiked west across the country and into Mexico before being arrested trying to enter Cuba, a country with no extradition treaty with the United States.

"You don't just kill somebody on one day and find your way to Cuba six days later," an assistant prosecutor, Michele Miller, told jurors during her closing arguments. "This was thought out."

Mr. Ray did not testify in his own defense or offer an explanation for his dramatic cross-country trek or the 18-page journal that he wrote along the way and labeled "On the Move."

The jury of 11 men and four women, including several alternates, found Mr. Ray guilty of murder and weapons possession hours after Ms. Miller finished her closing argument.

The trial portrayed both Mr. Ray and Ms. Bledsoe as unfaithful partners and took on a soap-opera quality as sexually explicit text messages and audio recordings were entered into evidence during the trial before Judge Verna G. Leath in Essex County Superior Court.



James Ray III, a former New York City police officer, fled to Cuba after the 2018 shooting.

Brooke M. Barnett, one of Mr. Ray's lawyers, had stressed Ms. Bledsoe's yearlong affair with a former college classmate, who testified about the relationship, and what Ms. Barnett depicted as a lackadaisical criminal investigation.

Detectives, she said, had failed to analyze the contents of Ms. Bledsoe's phone or consider the woman's frequent trips to the gun range when evaluating Mr. Ray's claim of self-defense.

"She picked up that gun not once, but twice, and pointed it at James Ray," Ms. Barnett told jurors on Wednesday, adding that Mr. Ray believed "he had no other choice than to shoot or be shot."

Mr. Ray, who was raised in Brooklyn and spent two years as a New York City police officer before getting his M.B.A. and going to law school, had claimed he was cleaning his guns when the couple began arguing that Monday morning.

Ms. Miller, however, encouraged jurors to consider an inconsistent fact: that the cleaning kit discovered in the home after the shooting was for a rifle, not the handgun found in the couple's kitchen.

Friends and relatives of Ms. Bledsoe, including her parents, observed much of the trial, sitting in the front rows of the gallery wearing buttons bearing the slain woman's photograph.

Ms. Bledsoe's sister, Lisa LaBoo, who testified during the trial, was not immediately available for comment after the jury reached its verdict. But in an interview last month, she described her sister as "beautiful on the inside and out."

Alana, now 10, lives with Ms. LaBoo and her husband in Florida.

Mr. Ray discussed his love for Alana in messages to his brother and in a lengthy final telephone conversation with a close female friend he called twice after the shooting.

Ms. Miller replayed that call for the jury on Thursday.

"Sometimes," Mr. Ray said during the recorded call, "you have to protect people in a way that's unconventional, that runs against the normal fiber."

"It takes a certain person to understand," he said.

Mr. Ray faces life in prison when he is sentenced on June 22.

On the Right, Help for Man Charged in Chokehold Death

By MARIA CRAMER

Little is known about the political views of Daniel Penny, the ex-Marine charged with fatally choking Jordan Neely on a New York City subway.

But since Mr. Penny's arrest on Friday on second-degree manslaughter charges, he has been quickly embraced by right-wing political figures and groups.

A campaign to raise money for his legal defense — set up on GiveSendGo, a self-described Christian crowdfunding site that was also used to raise funds for some of those arrested in the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol — had raised more than $1.8 million as of Sunday night.

In urging his followers to donate to the fund, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, a likely Republican presidential candidate, compared Mr. Penny to the good Samaritan, a biblical figure who comes to the aid of a man who has been beaten, stripped of his clothes and left on the side of the road.

"Let's show this Marine . . . America's got his back," he said on Twitter on Friday.

Representative Matt Gaetz, a Florida Republican, called Mr. Penny a "Subway Superman."

Other right-wing commentators have also rallied to Mr. Penny's side, including Charlie Kirk, who runs Turning Point USA, a conservative student group, and Jenna Ellis, a lawyer for former President Donald J. Trump.

The groundswell of support from the right is a stark contrast to the reaction on the left after the killing of Mr. Neely, 30, on May 1. Protesters called for Mr. Penny's arrest. Political figures including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a Democrat from New York, said Alvin L. Bragg, the Manhattan district attorney, should have charged Mr. Penny immediately.

The Republican support for Mr. Penny, 24, who grew up on Long Island and whose most recent New York voter registration, from 2016, lists his party affiliation as Conservative, followed a pattern of response to past incidents, according to political analysts.

Conservative commentators also hailed as a hero Kyle Rittenhouse, a 17-year-old from Antioch, Ill., who shot three men, two of them fatally, during demonstrations in Kenosha, Wis., in 2020. Mr. Trump met with him after he was acquitted of murder charges and called him "a nice young man."

Greg Abbott, the Republican governor of Texas, has said he plans to pardon Daniel Perry, an Army sergeant who was sentenced to 25 years in prison earlier this month for fatally shooting an armed man during a Black Lives Matter protest in Austin.

Like these men, Mr. Penny has become symbolic of a "macho" and "tough, take-action, hold-your-ground" ethos that appeals to a conservative segment of the country, said Douglas Muzzio, a political science professor at Baruch College.

Noting that many facts about the chokehold case remain unclear, including what happened before Mr. Penny grabbed Mr. Neely, Mr. Muzzio said, "It doesn't matter what he did or what he felt or what he believed."

The charge against Mr. Penny "occurs in an atmosphere of extreme polarization and racial polarization," Mr. Muzzio said. "It's symptomatic of our times — the split between red and blue, the split between Black and white — and it resonates with some deep-seated realities of American politics."

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A campaign to raise legal defense funds for Daniel Penny, center, has exceeded $1.8 million so far.

Moments before he posted his support of Mr. Penny on Twitter, Mr. DeSantis, during a visit to Peoria, Ill., took a shot at Mr. Bragg — voicing his disdain for prosecutors who are supported by "people like George Soros," referring to the liberal billionaire and Democratic donor who is a frequent target of right-wing attacks, some of which use veiled antisemitic tropes.

Jumaane Williams, New York's public advocate, said Mr. DeSantis's criticism followed a right-wing playbook to draw political support by spreading fear "regardless of what the facts say."

"If the violence can be linked to Black people or people who have melanated skin, they go even harder," he said.

The praise of Mr. Penny is "depressing," said Gabriel Murphy, an engineer who served in the Marines from 2006 to 2010 and who soon after Mr. Neely's death began a petition calling for charges against Mr. Penny, saying he had misused the chokehold.

He said people have a picture of the military in their minds. "They're cheering on that mental picture — that every Marine is a bloodthirsty killer who is waiting to enact righteous violence," Mr. Murphy said in an interview.

But Marines are trained to use a chokehold on enemy combatants and to stop using such force once their adversary loses consciousness, he said. A four-minute video that recorded the chokehold showed Mr. Penny hanging on tight to Mr. Neely 50 seconds after he went limp.

"I don't think what he did was OK, and I don't think it's in line with anything the Marine Corps teaches," Mr. Murphy said.

The fund for Mr. Penny's legal fees was organized by his lawyers, including Thomas Kenniff, who ran as a Republican against Mr. Bragg in 2021. Mr. Penny's lawyers were not immediately available for comment on Sunday.

One anonymous donor gave $10,000 with a note saying, "thank you for protecting the citizens that day."

On Sunday, a fund set up by Mr. Neely's family to help pay for funeral costs had raised a little more than $119,000.

Nicholas Nehamas contributed reporting.

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Opinion

The New York Times

Will Texas Blow Up Its Clean Energy Miracle?

Michael E. Webber
A professor of energy resources at the University of Texas and the chief technology officer at Energy Impact Partners, a venture fund focused on decarbonization technologies.

BECAUSE the Texas energy system is so large and central to the American economy, we all have a shared stake in its energy success.

When the Texas grid goes down, Atlanta might not get jet fuel. When Texas gas production freezes up in winter storms, a surprisingly frequent phenomenon, fuel prices spike in Minnesota. And because Texas is by far the nation's largest emitter of greenhouse gases among the states, the country cannot decarbonize its economy without Texas.

The Lone Star State has seen rapid growth not only in oil and gas production but also in wind and solar generation, a boom that has been justly called the Texas Miracle.

But now reactionary forces in the Texas Legislature want to turn the clock back to the days before the state became a national leader in producing electricity from solar and wind power.

The Texas Legislature is moving to erect barriers to clean energy development while providing incentives for fossil fuel production. This would make the task of reducing emissions much harder. And it comes even though oil and gas production has continued to grow, though not at the pace of the market's embrace of wind and solar.

This is a "radical departure," as Locke Lord, a national law firm active in the energy business, put it, for a state that "has long prided itself on a regulatory climate that is business-friendly and encourages, rather than stifles, economic development."

The Texas energy miracle over the past 15-plus years has transformed the industry. The shale revolution turned fears of oil and gas imports into the security and financial benefits of oil and gas exports. At the same time, the rapid development of large-scale wind and solar power generation has helped push a rapid decarbonization of the Texas economy (and the national one) while lowering consumers' energy bills. It has also reinvigorated rural economies by raising prevailing wages, reloaded the coffers of county governments and school districts with tax revenues from renewable power plants and provided landowners with handsome royalties as developers construct wind and solar farms.

All told, Texas is globally relevant and world leading in energy production. It is the No. 3 producer of natural gas in the world (behind the United States as a whole and Russia) and one of the largest economies globally for refining, wind and solar power generation, hydrogen production and consumption and carbon sequestration.

ROBERT BEATTY

The state is also one of the world's largest greenhouse gas emitters, on par with rich, populous countries such as Germany and South Korea. The difference is that while those countries pledged to reduce emissions quickly, their per capita emissions have not dropped as quickly as they have in Texas. The state is lowering its emissions because it has made it easy to build clean energy projects there, in the process pushing dirtier and more expensive options like coal out of the fuel mix.

While plodding lawmakers elsewhere deliberate whether to reform what are frequently labyrinthine and expensive approval processes for new energy projects, Texas already makes it easy to build what is needed.

Now Texas stands to benefit more than any other state from the recent federal Inflation Reduction Act and Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. Tens of billions of dollars of new clean energy projects have been announced in Texas, which will further boost the state economy while accelerating cuts in emissions.

> State leaders seek to upend advances that fueled the expansion of renewable power.

That is, unless the Texas political leadership gets its way.

The Texas Legislature is pushing a slate of backward-looking measures that would stop the Texas energy miracle in its tracks. Rather than taking credit for these huge successes and letting market forces continue, legislators, the governor (who recently received the 2023 Champion of the Oilfield Award from an industry group) and the lieutenant governor, who presides over the Senate, are tossing aside long-held beliefs in the power of markets and hands-off governance. They are turning instead to heavy-handed regulation and central control to pick winners and losers.

And renewable energy would be the loser.

Lawmakers are debating a range of bills that would mandate and subsidize more natural gas power plants, provide tax incentives for fossil fuels, punish renewables and make it easier to stop clean energy projects.

One measure, for instance, would reinstate a tax abatement program for oil and gas projects but exclude renewable energy developments from those tax benefits. Another would impose setback requirements for new wind farms, requiring those projects to be set back at least 3,000 feet from any property line unless the nearby owners grant waivers. There are no statewide setback requirements for oil and gas operations.

Yet another measure, bordering on the preposterous, would impose retroactive permitting requirements for already operating renewable power plants, which could end up invalidating their licenses. Still more proposals would further sock it to renewable energy.

It should not go without mentioning that this fast-growing renewable energy industry provides more than 37,000 jobs in the state, including some 25,000 in wind generation — four times as many jobs as there are for mining coal and using it at power plants and 12 times as many as there are in the nuclear power sector in Texas.

What's going on here? Republican leaders say they are focusing on dispatchable energy sources — fossil fuel and nuclear generation, which can be easily turned on and off — after the disastrous 2021 winter storm that left more than 10 million people without power for hours or days and resulted in more than 200 deaths. (Numerous reports have blamed the blackout on the failure of natural gas infrastructure.)

But energy companies and consumers have testified that these bills would make energy more expensive, dirtier and less reliable and would stall the rapid pace of investment in the state. The legislation is moving forward anyway.

Other states might look on with bemusement as Texas decides to inflict economic self-harm and then eye some of the investment that would surely leave the state. But it's in the national interest for Texas not to do this.

Texas can be an environmental ally to the rest of the country. For states that are serious about decarbonizing their economies, it might be easier to build clean projects in Texas and import the resulting energy or products — if the Texas energy miracle continues.

Texas has already demonstrated that if we make it easy to build energy plants and the accompanying infrastructure, then markets will choose the cleaner options. Let's hope Texas legislators will come to their senses and let the markets prevail rather than turning socialist to protect their favorite — dirtier — fuels. It would be the patriotic as well as the environmental thing to do and would continue to make Texas rich in the process.

In Conflict, Real Heroes Stay Behind

Farah Stockman
A member of the editorial board.

WHEN war broke out unexpectedly in the streets of Khartoum, Dr. Hiba Omer, a senior surgeon, could have fled like so many others. Instead, she stayed behind to keep a hospital open. Her city was in its hour of greatest need. If she left, who would perform the C-sections and treat all those bullet wounds?

Even after a Sudanese military official accused her on social media of siding with its enemy, the R.S.F. militia, sparking a barrage of death threats against her, she refused to flee.

"I will never leave Khartoum," she told me. "I will stay here, until death. I have a responsibility, and I will be staying until we do our job. It is a professional commitment."

Whenever a place becomes unbearable because of a natural disaster or a war, our hearts go out to the refugees who make the desperate trek out. But it's the people who stay behind who will decide the country's fate. They are the ones who will determine whether refugees will have a home to return to.

Consider what Ukraine would be like today if President Volodymyr Zelensky had taken the American offer to spirit him to safety at the beginning of the Russian invasion. His famous reply — "I need ammunition, not a ride" — shamed the West into providing more aid, boosted morale and inspired a nation.

How must Afghans have felt when they learned that their president, Ashraf Ghani, who had vowed that he "would never abandon" his people, had hastily departed in a helicopter as the Taliban approached? No one can begrudge him the instinct of self-preservation.

But saving your own skin — and leaving those for whom you are responsible to suffer — is an abdication of leadership.

Honorable captains go down with the ship. They don't slink off in a lifeboat while no one is looking. Mr. Ghani's flight stood in stark contrast to the bravery shown by Afghanistan's ex-president Hamid Karzai, who posted a video online announcing that he and his three young daughters would be staying in Kabul, at the very moment when other internationally known Afghans were frantically packing their bags and departing for luxurious estates they own abroad.

MOHAMED NURELDIN ABDALLAH/REUTERS

> Saving your own skin is an abdication of leadership.

Mr. Karzai's voice in that video, nearly drowned out by the sound of helicopters evacuating people, must have given some comfort to the poor who could not flee. It made me wonder if Mr. Karzai would be Afghanistan's leader today, had the Americans not micromanaged his every move.

Which brings me to the subject of Americans who threaten to move to Canada every time an election doesn't go their way. More than 5,000 people renounced their American citizenship in 2016, and more than 6,000 renounced in 2020, according to an analysis by The American Expat Financial News Journal. (It's not clear how many did so because of politics.) More than three million American voters are estimated to be living abroad, some of whom say they left the United States because of political strife.

I get it, to an extent. It's often easier to leave a place than to fight to change it, especially for well-off, well-educated Americans. For those with means, decisions about where to live are increasingly made based not on tribal homelands or national allegiances but on lifestyle preferences and favorable tax treatment.

The kings and queens of the Middle Ages stuck to their castles, their fates tied to those of their serfs. But today's elites have no such ties. Think of Peter Thiel, the Trump-loving California-based tech investor who poured untold amounts of money into American elections, only to map out his exit to New Zealand or possibly Malta.

In today's postindustrial world, citizenship is just another commodity that can be purchased for a price. When the water rises too high or the weather gets too weird or a bloviating narcissist threatens democracy, those with the resources can book a ticket out.

I can't begrudge those acts of self-preservation. But I can call it what it is: an abdication of the leadership role that wealth and education once commanded. The broken bond between the globalized elite and the ordinary people they leave behind is one reason for the rise of populism across the globe.

The doctors of Sudan should inspire all of us to think differently and live up to our responsibility to help the people in the places we are from. In 2019, Sudanese doctors helped turn a protest over the rising price of bread into an organized uprising for democracy and civilian rule. When the military dictatorship tried to silence them by arresting them, imprisoning them and torturing them, they organized a general strike.

Dr. Hiba Omer was detained for 58 days. Now those military men have hijacked the pro-democracy movement and turned their guns on one another, dragging their country of 46 million people over a cliff.

Since fighting erupted last month between the Sudanese Army and the R.S.F. paramilitary group, Dr. Omer and other volunteers with the Sudan Doctors' Trade Union, which she leads, have worked with civilian resistance committees to keep a hospital functioning. They slept in its wards and shared scarce medical supplies. They have taken a neutral stance in the war, she told me, treating wounded fighters from both sides alongside civilians.

Nevertheless, she and her friends have received a barrage of threatening messages accusing doctors of refusing to treat some Sudanese soldiers while not treating others. In one video that Dr. Omer forwarded to me, a military official said she is now "considered a traitor" and that her "day will come."

Even before those threats, the war was already deadly for doctors. At least 10 medical professionals have died in the chaos and crossfire, including Dr. Bushra Ibnauf Sulieman, an American citizen who was stabbed to death by thugs outside his home as he escorted his father to a dialysis appointment, and Dr. Farida Abdel Moneim of Omdurman Maternity Hospital, who died in crossfire on her way home from work.

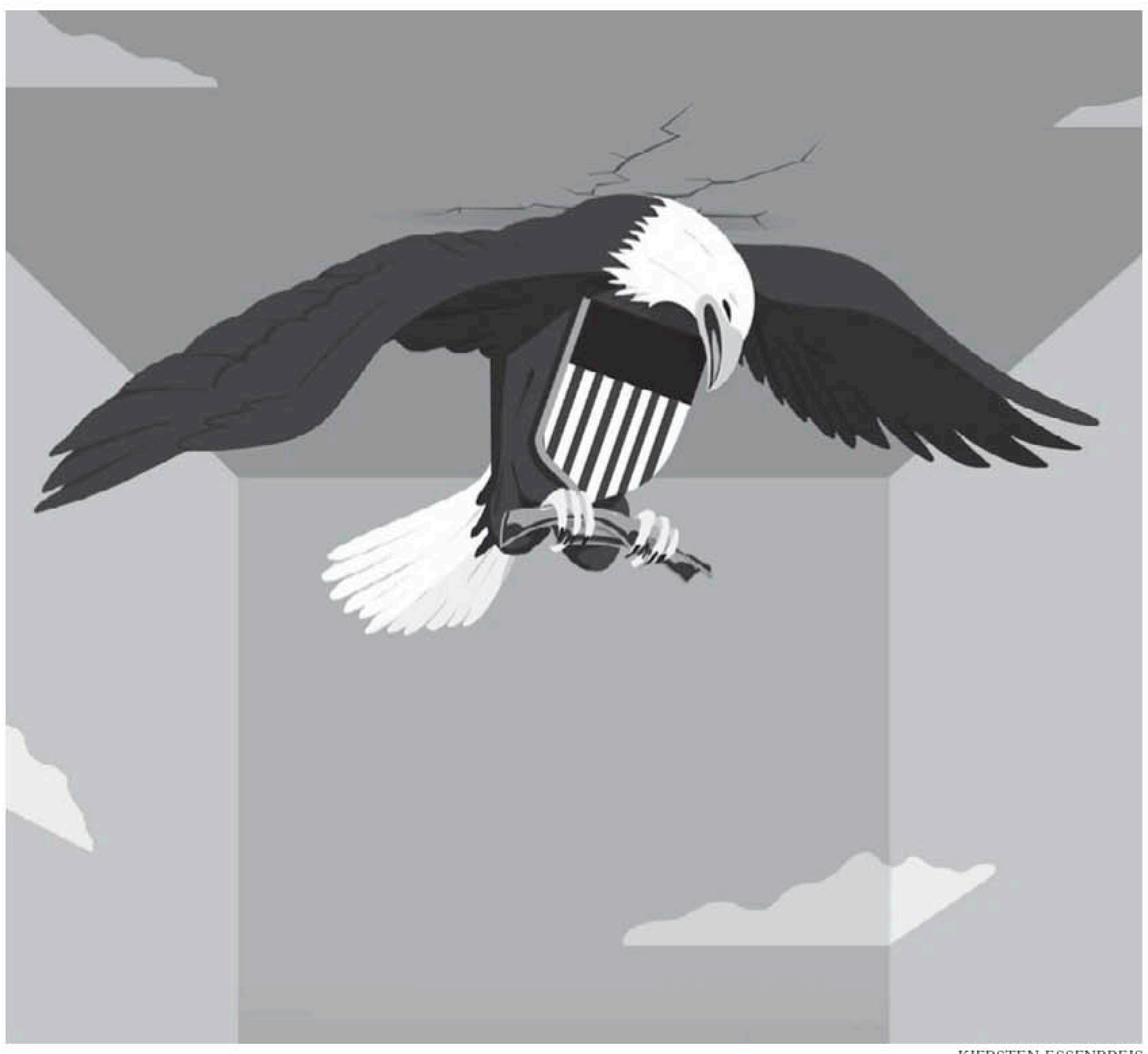
Fortunately, Dr. Omer is still alive and tending to patients in Khartoum. The Sudanese Army and the R.S.F. — which just struck an agreement to withdraw their forces from hospitals and to allow aid to reach civilians — must ensure that she stays that way.

The world has never quite figured out how to make the men with the guns share power with civilians who have earned the people's trust. But it has never been more clear that the doctors of Sudan, who save lives, would be better leaders than fighters who take lives.

Ignoring the Debt Limit Would Be Dangerous

Michael W. McConnell

A professor and the director of the Constitutional Law Center at Stanford Law School. He was a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit from 2002 to 2009.



KIERSTEN ESSENPREIS

PRESIDENT BIDEN is playing a dangerous game. When the federal government's deficit spending is about to exceed the amount Congress has authorized it to borrow and the Treasury has run out of what are known as extraordinary measures to stave off disaster, Congress and the president must negotiate a compromise resolution, or the nation faces the prospect of default.

The House of Representatives has already passed a bill that would raise the nation's debt limit by $1.5 trillion, coupled with proposed spending cuts, and its Republican leaders have signaled a willingness to negotiate. Mr. Biden instead has demanded that Congress raise the debt ceiling without conditions.

But the House Republicans' insistence on negotiations and compromise is not hostage taking. It is the ordinary stuff of politics. The two sides can posture all they want, but in the end, Congress and the president have to reach an agreement. That is not a bad thing. It is a good thing. The Constitution does not permit a unilateral solution on either side.

Begin with constitutional basics. Article I, Section 8 lists the powers of Congress. The first clause of Section 8 provides that Congress may "lay and collect taxes." The second clause provides that Congress has the power "to borrow money on the credit of the United States." These clauses are absolute. The executive branch cannot impose taxes or borrow funds on its own authority. Together with the power over spending, these powers are known as the power of the purse, which belongs entirely to the legislative branch.

These provisions have pride of place among Congress's powers for a reason. Before the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the English Civil War, the Stuart monarchs asserted the power to tax and to borrow without parliamentary approval, which effectively meant the power to rule without Parliament.

The result was not just autocratic rule at home but also periodic defaults on the royal debt, astronomical interest rates for government borrowing and ultimately civil war. Our framers did not wish to recreate the Stuart monarchy, and the first two clauses of Section 8 reflect that aversion. The power of the purse may be the most fundamental element in our system of checks and balances.

The debt limit is nothing more than an authorization from Congress to borrow a certain amount, up to a certain limit. The debt ceiling is not a restriction on what would otherwise be the president's ability to borrow; it is an authorization for the executive branch to borrow up to that ceiling. Above that, the president may not go.

Nonetheless, Mr. Biden's advisers reportedly are contemplating violating the congressional debt limit based on a far-fetched interpretation of Section 4 of the 14th Amendment propounded by some academics. Previous administrations have flirted with this idea, but all have rejected it. Mr. Biden should do the same. It would twist the words of the 14th Amendment, ignore its history and send the markets into turmoil.

The president cannot borrow more than Congress has authorized.

Section 4 of the 14th Amendment, enacted in the wake of the Civil War, says: "The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law . . . shall not be questioned." The immediate purpose was to prevent future Congresses (if controlled by pro-Confederate Democrats) from repudiating pension obligations and other debts incurred to win the Civil War.

No doubt it applies beyond those narrow circumstances. But by its terms it does not authorize the president to borrow more money in violation of Article I, Section 8, Clause 2. Nor does it authorize the president to impose taxes in violation of Article I, Section 8, Clause 1. By its terms, it does not augment the president's powers one iota.

Nor does Section 4 have anything to do with payment of the national debt. It does not make it unconstitutional for the United States to run out of money. Nice idea, but impossible. Section 4 prevents the only institution of government that could deny the validity of the debt — namely, Congress — from doing so.

For the United States to fail to pay interest or principal on its debt would be financially catastrophic, but it would not affect the validity of the debt. When borrowers fail to make payments on lawfully incurred debt, this does not question the validity of those debts; their debts are just as valid as before. The borrowers are just in default.

Moreover, even if the president were to issue new bonds without congressional authorization, the text of Section 4 makes plain that these bonds would not be constitutionally binding. Only public debt "authorized by law" — meaning by statute — has that status.

Were Mr. Biden to issue bonds on his unilateral authority, the bond market would know that those bonds were not backed by the full faith and credit of the United States. Sensible investors would not purchase such bonds or would demand such a high risk premium as to make them uneconomical.

Some people assume that the president's power to issue new debt would be resolved legally by the Supreme Court, but it would be resolved, for practical purposes, by the bond markets before the courts could even act. And the resolution would not be a happy one.

Mr. Biden has only one real choice if he wishes to avoid default: He has to negotiate with Congress, the branch of the government with authority over borrowing and spending.

If that means agreeing to spending reductions, that is hardly a disaster. That is what previous presidents have done; indeed, as vice president, he negotiated just such a deal between President Barack Obama and Congress. The idea that the 14th Amendment gives the president unilateral power to borrow is dangerous nonsense.

COLUMNIST | DAVID FRENCH

A Preventable Tragedy on New York's Subway

CIVIL SOCIETY cannot exist when the rule of law fails, and that includes on the nation's streets and public transit systems. The rule of law has to apply to the most *and* least powerful citizens, or we will create a culture of impunity that can disrupt daily lives and, ultimately, dangerously destabilize communities.

That's why it's important to pay attention to the tragedy of Jordan Neely and to the man who killed him with a chokehold on a New York City subway train on May 1, Daniel Penny. The rule of law is failing on New York's subways. In this case, Neely was obviously the principal victim of this failure. But he was not the only one.

The statistics are sobering. In 2022 subway crime rose by 30 percent from the year before. In February, The Times reported that while subway ridership was rebounding since the pandemic began, many women were "reluctant to return." The first sentence of the story states the problem clearly: "Many women riding New York's subway have stories of being leered at or harassed and have become used to raising their guard on public transit." And while recent public safety efforts have had promising early results, it's far too early to declare that law and order are truly making a comeback in the subway.

Behind every statistic is an individual case, and it's not hard to see how the law failed Neely. He had been arrested more than three dozen times, largely for minor transgressions, though in four cases for punching people, twice in the subway. He was on a list maintained by the city of the 50 homeless people in greatest need of urgent assistance. Most notably, in November 2021, Neely punched and seriously injured a 67-year-old woman as she exited the subway. An assault of that kind is profoundly dangerous, and any person who commits such an act should face meaningful consequences.

Neely spent 15 months in jail while the case awaited resolution, but ultimately he was not sentenced to prison. Instead he was told to report to a treatment facility, where he was to remain for 15 months and stay drug-free. He left after 13 days. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but in spite of subsequent encounters with outreach workers and at least one with the police, he was not taken back into custody.

Think of the many failures that put Neely on the train that day. Treatment efforts were inadequate. The sentence for his unprovoked assault did not match the severity of the crime — and, in any case, it was not enforced. When he walked away from the facility, the police failed to arrest him again. One can both be troubled by the problems of mass incarceration and recognize that just sentences for violent crimes should remove the perpetrators from the streets for substantial periods.

In short, Neely should not have been in that subway car; he should have still been in the treatment facility or in jail. But he was on the subway, and his conduct was deeply disturbing. While reports are still incomplete, Neely was reportedly aggressive and menacing toward his fellow passengers. A witness stated that he was yelling, "I don't have food. I don't have a drink. I'm fed up." He also reportedly said: "I don't mind going to jail and getting life in prison. I'm ready to die."

There is no evidence that Neely assaulted anyone, but Penny acted to restrain him anyway, placing him in a chokehold. According to a video of the incident, at least one other person helped restrain Neely by grabbing his arms. Penny held Neely until he went limp, then Neely was turned on his side in what appears to have been an effort to prevent him from choking on his saliva. After police officers arrived, he was taken to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead.

On Friday, 11 days after Neely's death, prosecutors charged Penny with second-degree manslaughter. To prove the charge, they will have to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that Penny "recklessly" caused Neely's death. Under New York State law, a person is deemed to act recklessly when he "engages in conduct which creates or contributes to a substantial and unjustifiable risk that another person's death will occur."

The key word in that definition is "unjustifiable." That's because New York State law provides a defense of justification, which permits a person to use physical force on another person when it is "necessary to defend himself, herself or a third person from what he or she reasonably believes to be the use or imminent use of unlawful physical force by such other person."

Even if some restraint was justifiable, Penny may face conviction if the restraint is deemed excessive. Thus, he has two primary points of legal peril: the initial decision to restrain Neely and the nature of the restraint itself, a prolonged chokehold.

No one should be certain of what the outcome of the case will be. There is still much we don't know, including the perceptions of the other passengers on the train and the reasons Penny held Neely for so long. But one striking aspect of the public commentary surrounding Neely's death is the sheer number of people who've shared stories of their own disturbing and dangerous encounters on New York City's subways. In The New Yorker, Adam Iscoe wrote about his encounters, including watching a young man start masturbating in public. On the site UnHerd, Kat Rosenfield wrote that she was "groped, flashed or masturbated at probably two dozen times" when she lived in New York.

Viral videos of violent harassment show the cost of tolerance for public disorder. Should passengers stand by when, say, an angry man yanks the hair of a woman next to him? Or when a man assaults a gay passenger in a violent homophobic attack? I'm a former resident of New York City and a frequent visitor. I can easily think of tense moments when I had to ask myself whether it would be more or less dangerous for me and others if I stayed in my seat. How passive should we be when unstable men act out in public, especially when the police are nowhere to be found?

The city failed Jordan Neely, and it has failed its residents.

It's a failure of the rule of law that these questions come up so frequently. And this failure places passengers under serious pressure. It puts them in tense situations where the proper course of action isn't clear. Both action and inaction have their risks. What if Penny had done nothing? Would everyone — including Neely — have emerged from that subway car unscathed? We can't know for certain, and that lack of certainty creates the conditions for violence.

The best way to resolve these problems isn't through jury trials of those, like Penny, who take it upon themselves to intervene (as necessary as those trials may be) but rather through the preservation of public order by the just application of the law and the generous provision of public support. Regardless of the outcome of the case against Daniel Penny, we know this: New York City failed Jordan Neely. And it also failed the passengers on that train.

LETTERS

Speeding Up the Update of Our Electric Grid

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "We Desperately Need a New Electrical Grid. Here's How to Make It Happen" (editorial, May 7):

Kudos for recognizing that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission is the agency best equipped to consider and approve proposals to build long-distance interstate electric transmission needed to deliver affordable but remote renewable energy to where it is needed. Otherwise, America will not be able to decarbonize our grid or our economy.

Fortunately, the proposed Streamlining Interstate Transmission of Electricity (SITE) Act would provide F.E.R.C. the authority it needs.

Since enactment of the Federal Power Act in 1935, states have effectively had veto power over the siting of interstate electricity transmission, resulting in expensive delays of a decade or more for many crucial projects. Most never get built. No surprise, then, that over the last decade America and Canada combined have built just seven gigawatts of large-scale interregional transmission power lines, compared with 44 GW in Europe and 260 GW in China.

F.E.R.C. has decades of experience approving interstate natural gas pipelines. The outcome has been timely construction of a robust interstate gas pipeline system that has produced significant economic benefits for consumers and the nation, while helping gas displace most coal use, a process responsible for nearly three-fifths of U.S. carbon dioxide emissions reductions from 2005 to 2021. And under pressure from the Biden administration, F.E.R.C. has been more responsive to the legitimate needs of states and other stakeholders when siting pipelines.

It's time that Congress acts to deliver the affordable clean power Americans want and deserve.

DANIEL ADAMSON
PAUL BLEDSOE

Mr. Adamson is a principal of Energy Reg Strategies and former director of the Office of Energy Projects at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. Mr. Bledsoe is a strategic adviser for the Progressive Policy Institute and served on the White House Climate Change Task Force under President Bill Clinton.

TO THE EDITOR:

This editorial argues that the U.S. power sector needs to be restructured to support the electrification of our economy. What we really need is a reality check as the administration pursues an unrealistic renewable energy transition timetable that threatens an already fragile grid.

Energy experts warn that fossil fuel power plants, mostly coal-fired, are closing faster than less dependable wind and solar plants and transmission lines can be built. Asked at a recent Senate Energy Committee hearing whether coal could be eliminated in the near future while maintaining grid reliability, all four commissioners from the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission answered no.

Meanwhile utilities have announced plans to retire more than 40 percent of the U.S. coal fleet before 2030, with the remainder at risk of premature retirements because of new Environmental Protection Agency regulations.

The government can spend billions incentivizing renewable energy projects — look at the Inflation Reduction Act — but it cannot buy time, and that is a commodity fast running out for reliable electricity.

MICHELLE BLOODWORTH
ARLINGTON, VA.

The writer is president and C.E.O. of America's Power, a national trade organization of the industries involved in producing electricity from coal.

TO THE EDITOR:

As the ranking member of the House committee that oversees energy development on our public lands and waters, I appreciate your editorial. Planning for electric transmission projects and cost allocation reforms are much needed.

However, I was troubled by the assertion that we must curb bedrock environmental laws, namely the National Environmental Policy Act, or NEPA, to spur renewable energy development.

Weakening NEPA and other fundamental protections isn't just a guaranteed assault on communities already overburdened by pollution; it's not even a real solution for accelerating permitting.

For one, around 99 percent of all projects are exempt from detailed environmental review under NEPA. When project delays do happen, the most common culprit is the permit applicants themselves — whether it's because they failed to complete applications or paused the project on their own.

In fact, cutting NEPA's public input processes can actually backfire, causing delays and cancellations.

If we want to speed up environmental reviews, strong early engagement and fully staffed permitting offices are the reforms we need. That's why Democrats secured more than $1 billion for that very purpose in last year's Inflation Reduction Act.

NEPA won't derail reform. False solutions will.

RAÚL M. GRIJALVA
WASHINGTON

The writer, an Arizona Democrat, is the ranking member of the House Committee on Natural Resources.

TO THE EDITOR:

The biggest problem in expanding the electric grid is that people will fight any new grid construction, conveniently forgetting that the electricity they get to keep them warm or cold, keep their food safe and light their homes comes through power lines that run through other people's property and have an impact on those people.

It won't matter who is making the decisions, whether it is F.E.R.C. or a local municipality or a state; people will hire lawyers to fight the project and it will be held up or abandoned.

Until Americans give up the NIMBY attitude, expanding the grid will be very difficult or impossible.

CHARLES REICHNER
REVERE, PA.

Stories About Puberty, for Those Undergoing It

TO THE EDITOR:

As an adult, I must cop to reading The New York Times for Kids, a monthly print-only Sunday section that the editors say "should not be read by grown-ups."

The Puberty Issue on April 30 brought tears to these ancient eyes. It's thoughtful and exceptionally well written for its audience; I wish it had been available to me during my traumatic adolescence.

Grown-ups should take heart from this, reading it as a way to engage with their children finding their way through this most decisive period of their young lives.

KATHERINE BENJAMIN
AUSTIN, TEXAS

TO THE EDITOR:

This was a wonderful issue! Written for kids: informative, language that was not insulting to them, with illustrations that did not need explanations.

I only wish this had been available to me as an 11- and 12-year-old girl! I am 72 now. These conversations were verboten then — whether at school or at home, no real information.

I clearly remember regularly climbing trees, after being warned by my mom and landlady not to. One day, I fell and hurt my side. Later that night, unknown to me, my period had started. I cried all night, thinking I had "damaged" my insides.

The next morning I had to tell my mom. She continued to wash dishes, never looked at me and gave me some kind of explanation as to "the bleeding." I was relieved to find out I had not permanently damaged myself. But, unfortunately, the landlady had the tree cut down the next day!

CATHI RICHARD
HILTON HEAD, S.C.

A.I. Truth and Lies

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "When Chatbots 'Hallucinate'" (Business, May 8):

Why are we surprised that artificial intelligence can make stuff up and deliver incorrect information convincingly? Many humans can do that. It is a facility enabled by intelligence, whether artificial or not.

How can we expect to hold computers to a higher standard of veracity than we hold ourselves? If we cannot enforce truthfulness from material posted on the internet or even from a president of the United States, how can we expect to enforce truthfulness from a computer that learns from such sources?

OREST HURKO, LINCOLN, MASS.

Slava Zaitsev, 85, Dies; A Soviet-Era Couturier Who Dressed the Elite

By PENELOPE GREEN

Slava Zaitsev, an effervescent and enduring Soviet-era fashion designer, once called the "Red Dior" by the Western press, whose over-the-top theatrical creations and persona made him a go-to couturier at home, died on April 30 in Shchyolkovo, Russia. He was 85.

His longtime friend Tatiana Sorokko, a Russian-born model and journalist, said his death, in a hospital, was caused by internal bleeding that resulted from an ulcer.

Mr. Zaitsev died just two days before Valentin Yudashkin, a pupil of his who was also known for his sumptuous creations, and who found greater success in the West than he did, died of cancer at 59.

Mr. Zaitsev gave color, sparkle and opulence to a generation raised in drab Soviet gray, the uniform of the proletariat, by combining Western bling with nods to traditional Russian folk costumes

Designs that blended Western bling with traditional attire.

and nostalgic references to Pasternak and Tolstoy. He was the first designer, in pre-perestroika days, to be allowed to put his name on his work, which he first did in 1982.

He would go on to design for pop stars, politicians, ballerinas and Olympic athletes. He designed uniforms for Aeroflot, the Russian airline, and for Moscow's traffic police, whom he dressed in crisp navy blue with light-reflecting stripes.

He loved pomp and spectacle — for a time in the 1980s his fashion business was known as the Theater of Fashion — and he oversaw sold-out weekly shows like a circus maestro, dancing down the runway dressed in bright silks and waving his hands in the air.

"Don't be afraid to look plump," he told the audience at one show, The New York Times reported in 1986. "Russia has always been associated with plump women who embody kindheartedness, hospitality and good food."

For most Russians during the Gorbachev years, fashion would remain a spectator sport. In 1986, when the average monthly wage was about 190 rubles, a Zaitsev blouse cost 300 rubles, or $400 (about $1,100 in today's dollars). But admittance to Theater of Fashion shows, which were open to the public, was just a few rubles.

Still, nothing seemed like overkill after decades of hardship, said Karina Dobrotvorskaya, a former president of Condé Nast Russia, which suspended operations there in March 2022. And, she said, because for much of his life Mr. Zaitsev was isolated from the West, his flamboyant clothes were not exactly practical.

When he showed his work at the Waldorf Astoria in 1988, during his first visit to New York, he learned that his billowing wool skirts and coats were out of sync with American taste and behaviors: too warm for the climate and too voluminous for a modern working woman who was dashing in and out of subways and taxis.

"The Soviet Union's first fashion show flopped," Vogue declared. "Nice thought for détente; the clothes didn't do much for women."

Yet the stylish and urbane Raisa Gorbachev, the wife of the Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev and perhaps the most effective ambassador for his reforms, wore Mr. Zaitsev's more restrained outfits to great effect as she toured Russia and abroad in the middle to late 1980s. And she was not the only politician to turn to Mr. Zaitsev.

In 1996, when the ultranationalist firebrand Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky waged a failed campaign for the presidency, he dressed exclusively in splashy custom-made Zaitsev suits that seemed to fit his bombast, favoring in particular a crimson tunic with gold buttons (the designer was reported to have voted for the incumbent, Boris Yeltsin). And in 2003, when Lyudmila Putin, then the wife of President Vladimir V. Putin, met Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace, she sported a wide-brimmed Zaitsev hat.

"It's not that he was the greatest designer," said Alessandra Stanley, co-editor of the online weekly magazine Air Mail and a former foreign correspondent for The New York Times who was based in Moscow from 1994 to 1998. "It's the fact that he could do it at all, the fact that Russians could have their own name designer. He was like the Bolshoi, something they could look to with pride and affection even if it was a little out of date."

In 1994, Ms. Stanley, writing in The Times about Russia's search for a coherent national identity in the post-Gorbachev era, described the nostalgic vision Mr. Zaitsev presented in a showing of his winter collection that year. Models were dressed like Tolstoy heroines, in ringlets, bonnets and billowing coats, and they pirouetted down the runway to music by Tchaikovsky.

"Most of us never knew such a culture existed," Mr. Zaitsev told Ms. Stanley. "We were only shown movies about the construction of channels and the conquest of Siberia."

His show, he added, was like "a dream, something that reassures Russia that a time will come when we can return to something we had in the past, but in a new version."

Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Zaitsev was born on March 2, 1938, in Ivanovo, a gritty city of textile mills northeast of Moscow. His mother, Maria Ivanovna Kokurina, was a laundress and house cleaner, and his father, Mikhail Yakovlevich Zaitsev, was an entertainer and a poet before he was drafted into the Soviet Army during World War II.

Upon his return, Mikhail Zaitsev was sent to one of the many camps set up by Stalin for "traitors to the Motherland, spies and terrorists," as prisoners of war were described, and as the son of a "traitor to the Motherland," Slava was not permitted to attend the better schools and universities. He attended a local technical school and graduated from Moscow State Textile University in 1962.

His first work was designing uniforms for laborers, but he was soon branching out. A collection of minidresses printed with patterns drawn from traditional folk costumes earned him a rebuke from the authorities but excited a delegation of visiting fashion designers, including Pierre Cardin. It was a risky move, those minis, a salvo against the official policy at the time, which declared that "an imitation of Western fashions, harmless at first sight, may lead to a real spiritual bankruptcy and moral degradation."

When in the mid-1960s a Paris newspaper called Mr. Zaitsev "the Red Dior," the authorities were once again not amused. They banned him from traveling to the West for two decades, declaring that "we do not have one Dior in this fashion house; we have 60."

Still, he prevailed, and in 1982 he was given permission to affix his name to his work, a first for a Russian designer. Yet for years, shortages of textiles and dyes — as well as shoulder pads, linings and buttons — often curtailed his more fanciful visions, as did a garment industry designed for mass production. And for years, he fit his work on a dressmaker's dummy dating from World War II.

For his first show under his own name, he recalled in a BBC radio interview in 2018, he designed a women's collection made from men's underpants. It was all he could find, he said, and he had them dyed in bright colors by the workshops of the Bolshoi.

"So the models went out wearing nothing but underwear, but no one even noticed that," he said. "The collection was beautiful, full of color. My models were dancing. It was great."

Mr. Zaitsev is survived by his son, Yegor, and two granddaughters. His marriage to Marina Gotesman ended in divorce.

After Mr. Zaitsev's death, President Putin issued a statement of condolence to the designer's friends and family that was posted on the Kremlin's website, according to Tass, the Russian news agency. The statement credited Mr. Zaitsev with turning the domestic fashion industry "into fine art."

"Through his unique and original works," Mr. Putin said, "Vyacheslav Zaitsev created a festive atmosphere, bringing joy and the gift of beauty to the people."

In an interview, Ms. Sorokko said that the festivity of Mr. Zaitsev's designs would especially be missed amid the continuing war between Russia and Ukraine. "With his passing," she said, "it seems the only form of fashion that will remain in Russia for quite some time is military uniforms."

PAVEL GOLOVKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

PAVEL GOLOVKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Slava Zaitsev, above, a fashion designer, during Fashion Week in 2018 in Moscow. He was as theatrical as his creations, at left, which mixed nostalgic references to Tolstoy with opulent details.

MIKE SARGENT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

IVAN SEKRETAREV/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Raisa Gorbachev, second from left, wore one of Mr. Zaitsev's outfits when she and Mikhail S. Gorbachev met the Reagans. Lyudmila Putin, with her husband, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, wore a Zaitsev hat to meet Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip.

Pema Tseden, 53, Tibetan Author and Filmmaker Who Eluded Chinese Censors

By TIFFANY MAY

Pema Tseden, a filmmaker and author who presented an honest look at contemporary Tibetan life despite intense scrutiny from Chinese censors, died on May 8 in Tibet. He was 53.

His death was announced in a statement by the China Academy of Art in Hangzhou, where he was a professor. The statement did not specify a cause or say where he died.

Tibet and its people have often been misrepresented with clichés. For the West, it was utopia, a fantasy based on the depiction of Shangri-La in the British author James Hilton's 1933 novel, "Lost Horizon." For the Communist Party of China, Tibetans were serfs or barbarians in need of rescue and rehabilitation, with propaganda films portraying Han cadres as liberators.

Pema Tseden (pronounced WA-ma TSAY-ten in his native dialect), who like most Tibetans had no family name and went instead by his two given names, said that as a child, he had longed for accurate representations of his home, people and culture that existing Hollywood and Chinese films didn't provide.

"Whether it was the clothes, the customs, the manners, every element, even the smallest, was inaccurate," he said in a 2019 interview. "Because of that, at the time, I thought that later on, if someone made films with even a little knowledge of the language of my people, the culture, the traditions of my people, it would be completely different."

In his films, Pema Tseden rarely depicted Tibet's Chinese population, which swelled after the Red Army seized Tibet in 1951. To elude Chinese censors, he eschewed references to the Dalai Lama, who has been seen in China as supporting Tibetan independence. This allowed him to avoid overtly political critiques while still tackling broader themes, like the loss of traditions and identity in the face of modernization.

He was the first Tibetan filmmaker working in China to shoot a feature film entirely in the Tibetan language. He was also the first Tibetan director to graduate from the prestigious Beijing Film Academy, which cultivated the country's leading directors. But like all artists in China exploring ethnic minorities and religion, he was subject to additional vetting from state censors and required to submit scripts in Chinese for review.

"His challenge, of course, was to make films that would reflect a Tibetan sense of identity, a Tibetan cultural sensibility, while not upsetting the Chinese authorities," Tenzing Sonam, a Tibetan filmmaker and writer living in Dharamshala, India, said by phone. "Pema Tseden navigated that fine line incredibly well."

Films that depicted everyday experiences, devoid of stereotypes.

In "The Silent Holy Stones" (2005), he depicted everyday Tibetan experiences: monks becoming engrossed with television, villagers rehearsing for a New Year's opera performance. And in "Old Dog" (2011), images of barbed-wire fences stretching across the Tibetan grasslands examined the power of the state and the complexities of privatizing ancestral lands.

His movies were "not just about Tibet," Tsering Shakya, a Tibetan historian and scholar at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, said in an interview. "This is about China and people who are left behind by China's economic miracle."

As Pema Tseden's clout grew, China's film industry and its audiences began to accept Tibetan as a language used on the big screen. And by combining Tibetan traditions of oral storytelling and song with modern filmmaking formats, his movies gave rise to an entirely new genre that some called the Tibetan New Wave.

"The stories his films contained — which are always meticulously framed and exquisitely modulated — speak powerful truths in the gentlest of voices," said Shelly Kraicer, a Chinese cinema curator and researcher who wrote subtitles for some of Pema Tseden's work. "He's a key world filmmaker."

He sought to build a tight-knit network of Tibetan filmmakers, including Sonthar Gyal, Dukar Tserang, Lhapal Gyal and Pema Tseden's, son, Jigme Trinley, who went on to direct their own films. Drivers, assistants and other members of the crew sometimes juggled more than one role, appearing as extras and coaching actors in regional dialects.

"He created from scratch an embryonic Tibetan film circle, film industry," Françoise Robin, a professor of Tibetan language and literature at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations in Paris who knew Pema Tseden for over two decades, said by phone. "He's very faithful in friendship. Some people worked with him for 10 years."

Pema Tseden was born on Dec. 3, 1969, in Qinghai Province, part of a northeastern region of Tibet traditionally known as Amdo. His parents were farmers and herders.

He was raised by his grandfather, who asked him to copy out Buddhist scriptures by hand after school, a practice that instilled in him an early appreciation for Tibetan language and culture. He worked as a teacher for four years before studying Tibetan literature and translation at the Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou. He then worked for several years as a civil servant in his home province.

Starting in 1991, he published short stories set in Tibet, written in both Tibetan and Chinese, about individuals confronted with sweeping changes. They underscored the importance of forging a connection with nature and animals, showing "the complexity of life in the simplest language," said Jessica Yeung, a professor at Hong Kong Baptist University who knew Pema Tseden for a decade and translated his work. He later adapted some of his stories into films.

After attending the Beijing Film Academy in the early 2000s, he released "The Silent Holy Stones" to critical acclaim, as well as several other films. A decade later, "Tharlo" (2015), about the journey of a shepherd who must travel outside his isolated village to register for a government ID, premiered at the Venice Film Festival. It won numerous awards, including a Golden Horse Award for best adapted screenplay in Taiwan. Among Tibetans, it also became a seminal work for aspiring filmmakers within a few years.

"A Tibetan film should show Tibetan life," Pema Tseden said in an undated interview that was recently released by Kangba TV, a Tibetan-language broadcaster. "In my case, from my first film onward, I wanted my movies to absolutely include characters who are Tibetan, who would all speak Tibetan, and whose behavior and way of thinking were Tibetan. This is what makes Tibetan films different."

Pema Tseden's subsequent films benefited from his higher profile. "Jinpa" (2018), about a truck driver who runs over a sheep and then picks up a hitchhiker, was produced by the Hong Kong auteur Wong Kar-wai's Jet Tone Films and premiered at the Venice Film Festival, where it won the Orizzonti Award for best screenplay. "Balloon" (2019), about a family coping with an unexpected pregnancy amid China's family planning laws, also premiered in Venice. A forthcoming film, "Snow Leopard," about the tense relationship between humans and predatory animals, is currently in postproduction. At his death, he was working on another film.

Information on survivors in addition to his son was not immediately available.

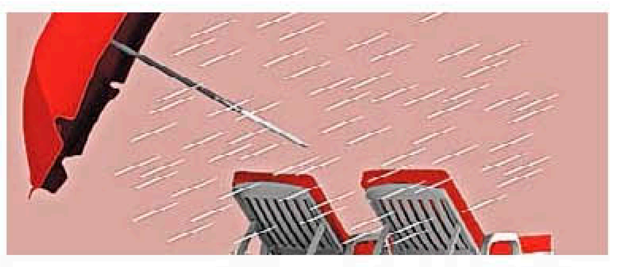
Li You contributed research.

GILLES SABRIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pema Tseden tackled broad themes, like the loss of Tibetan traditions and identity, in his films.

More Obituaries appear on Page B7.

2 DEALBOOK
The Biden administration is set to propose payments for flight disruptions, and the airlines are not happy.



2 TRIPPED UP
Read the fine print first: Insurance against a canceled trip might not protect you as much as you might think.

6 MARKETING
Free Richardson and Phil Cho have combined faith and authenticity in creating an award-winning collaboration.

A Hurdle-Filled Race To Make Computer Chips

UNITED STATES

Staying on Cutting Edge Means Playing Catch-Up

By DON CLARK

SAN FRANCISCO — For more than 50 years, designers of computer chips mainly used one tactic to boost performance: They shrank electronic components to pack more power onto each piece of silicon.

Then more than a decade ago, engineers at the chip maker Advanced Micro Devices began toying with a radical idea: Instead of designing one big microprocessor with vast numbers of tiny transistors, they conceived of creating one from smaller chips that would be packaged tightly together to work like one

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

CHINA

Trade Restrictions Force A Shift to Self-Reliance

By CHANG CHE and JOHN LIU

Last October, construction plans for a hulking semiconductor factory owned by a major state-backed company in central China fell into disarray. The Biden administration had escalated the trade war over technology, severing China's access to the Western tools and skilled workers it needed to build the most advanced semiconductors.

Some employees with U.S. citizenship departed the company. Three U.S. equipment suppliers almost immediately halted their shipments and services, and Europe and Ja-

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TAIWAN

Crucial Company Faces A Shortage of Engineers

By JOHN LIU and PAUL MOZUR

Engineers like Royale Lee, 31, are one reason Taiwan is the world's biggest contract producer of the microchips that power almost all electronics.

When a computer virus paralyzed machinery at his employer, Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, Mr. Lee pulled a 48-hour shift to help fix the problem. For years he responded to phone calls day and night. But in late 2021, after five years of sacrifices, he had come to fear the ring of his phone. His annual compensation of $105,000, an envied sum

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ZERB MELLISH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A MI300 processor, by Advanced Micro Devices, is a example of chiplet technology, creating a microprocessor from smaller chips packaged tightly together to work as a unit. Packaging is dominated by Asian-based companies.

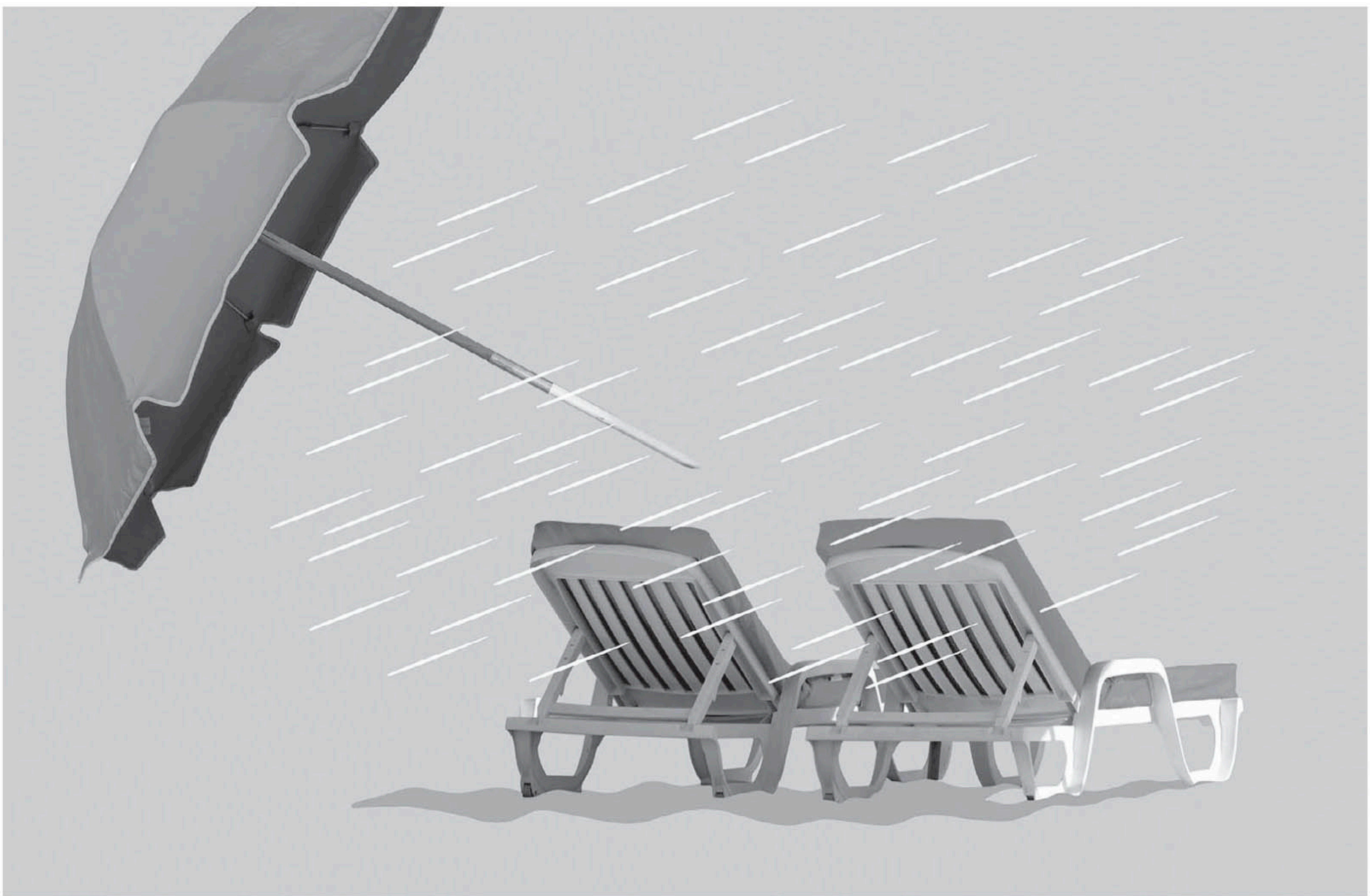
TRAVEL

Help! Insurance Won't Cover a Canceled Tour

When a hurricane scrambled plans for a trip to Cuba, one woman was left with a useless plane ticket.

Tripped Up

By SETH KUGEL



MIGUEL PORLAN

Dear Tripped Up,

I had booked a 10-day, $4,424 tour to Cuba for last November, but Hurricane Ian hit the island in late September, knocking out the power grid and causing widespread destruction. The tour organizer canceled the trip, citing health and safety issues, and refunded our money. I had bought my airfare ($1,504) separately, so I assumed my GoReady Pandemic Plus insurance policy would cover it. But when I called the company, an agent told me that because the Havana airport was open, and the hotel I planned to stay in was habitable, it was not worth filing a claim that would surely be denied. If travel insurance doesn't cover this, what does it cover?

Khatiba, Sebastopol, Calif.

Dear Khatiba,

You are forgiven for thinking that the "trip cancellation" portion of your policy would cover, say, trip cancellation.

My inbox is flooded with messages from travelers whose similarly reasonable-sounding claims were denied either because of a policy's fine print or because the documentation process became so mind-bendingly bureaucratic that they simply gave up.

After looking into your case and others, here's a warning I think should accompany every travel insurance policy:

"Most travel insurance covers you against specific hazards listed in the policy's fine print, excluding countless scenarios you'd never think of and that could ruin your trip through no fault of your own. If you are covered, you might have to persuade doctors, hospitals, airlines, cruise lines and others to provide documentation well beyond what you consider necessary or rational — all in the aftermath of a vacation gone terribly wrong."

To be fair, most vacations go off without a hitch, most hitches are covered and most claims are paid out with minimal hassle. But there are plenty of exceptions, and their stories reveal that people often expect too much from their policies.

"Many travelers don't read up on the insurance," said Jason Schreier, the chief executive of GoReady, an online travel insurance retailer. "They believe that if anything happens on their trip that creates an unexpected expense, and it's not their fault, that the travel insurance company will foot the bill."

In your case, a conscientious tour operator canceled the trip and reimbursed everyone on it. Your plane tickets were thus rendered all but useless: Even if you had wanted to fly to Cuba for a solo trip in the wake of a hurricane, it is not clear you could have. The U.S. government still prohibits most tourism to Cuba that does not include a "full-time schedule" of "exchange activities." It seems logical that you should be reimbursed.

But the fine print of the GoReady Pandemic Plus policy says otherwise. You were covered for natural disasters only if certain criteria were met: Airports had to be closed "for 48 consecutive hours," for example, or your hotel rendered "uninhabitable."

Even if either situation had been the case, you may not have been covered, at least not fully, since the airlines gave you a $425 credit, potentially invalidating that much of the claim. Insurers will not pay out claims if a travel provider offers a credit, though they may make an exception if there is little chance the traveler would ever use it, such as with a regional airline.

Though GoReady stands by the advice not to file, it has now offered you a choice between a partial refund of $220 or a credit for the full value of your insurance policy ($559).

Mr. Schreier noted that it isn't in his company's interest when claims are denied. GoReady, like many of its competitors, primarily sell the plans and provides customer service, while third parties evaluate claims, and underwriters — think Nationwide or Assurant — cover the payouts. "We're motivated to have our clients' claims paid," Mr. Schreier said, "as we know that's the most likely factor to influence repeat business."

Still, your case is frustrating. We all understand why policies might exclude injuries suffered while, say, mountain climbing. But it is exasperating that just because a situation is not explicitly spelled out, it is excluded. That is one reason some people purchase more expensive Cancel for Any Reason, or CFAR plans, but even then, read the fine print.

For example, CFAR only kicks in before your vacation starts. It wouldn't have helped Mark from Los Angeles, who insured his Sierra Club Antarctic cruise through a company called World Nomads. About halfway into the 18-day voyage — and before reaching Antarctica — a fellow passenger fell and died. Following protocol, the ship turned around and sailed to the Falkland Islands, and eventually to Ushuaia, Argentina, for the group's return flight.

In a letter meant for insurance providers, the Sierra Club estimated the value lost because of the trip interruption at $7,308 per person. But TripMate, which administers claims for World Nomads, rejected Mark's claim and that of his travel companion.

The problem: Their trip was not technically "interrupted," since they spent all 18 nights aboard. Several times in my conversations with insurance executives I heard the phrase "You're not covered for loss of enjoyment," but I imagined this applying to a week of rain at a Caribbean resort, not an Antarctic cruise that never makes it to Antarctica.

I also heard from a reader named Alan, of Vaughan, Ontario, about a nightmarish return from Vancouver to Toronto during last Christmas season's storms. After three WestJet flights were canceled and another delayed, all because of the weather, the next flight they were booked on was canceled because of a crew shortage, and he and his wife were stuck in Calgary overnight. Alan had paid for his trip with an HSBC credit card that offers travel insurance through Assurant.

The next day, with no word from WestJet on when they could fly, they called Assurant, which told them it would cover an Air Canada flight home. Alan filed claims for hotel expenses from WestJet and reimbursement for the flight from Assurant. WestJet rejected the hotel request, and the letter it provided Alan in order to file a claim with Assurant mischaracterized at least two of the cancellations and focused on the crew shortage of the final flight — a situation not covered by insurance.

A spokeswoman for WestJet, Madison Kruger, said the airline had erroneously rejected the hotel claim and would pay. Linda Recupero, a spokeswoman for Assurant, which administers the HSBC policy, said that she could not comment on the case, but that the company has been in touch with Alan to help with future steps.

In another case of snarled communication, Jacki of Englewood, Colo., tested positive for Covid and was denied boarding on a Greek Islands cruise in May 2022, a situation clearly covered under the trip cancellation policy provided by her Chase Sapphire Reserve credit card. But when Chase's third-party administrator tried to verify that the cruise line had not reimbursed her for the $11,000 cruise, they were told she'd gotten a $250 refund somewhere along the way. Jacki was not informed of this mix-up until nearly a year later. She wrote to me with the subject line "Insurance stand-off."

Paul Lussier, a Chase spokesman, blamed the snafu on a breakdown in communication, and said the company that administers its insurance program had thus waited seven months for documentation from Jacki. Why a $250 misunderstanding would hold up a the process — especially since the policy covered $10,000 — is unclear. But all this has now been settled and Jacki will receive payment.

Travel insurance is often necessary (for those whose medical insurance does not cover them abroad, for example) or prudent (say, if a traveler worries about canceling an expensive trip because of the failing health of a family member) and often just a good idea. But temper expectations, read the fine print and call the company before the trip with questions. If something happens along the way, document the heck out of it. And when you get home, warm up that scanner and prepare to create and upload more PDFs than you thought possible.

A Biden Goal, and a Rule in Europe: Getting Paid If Your Flight's Delayed

By BERNHARD WARNER and SARAH KESSLER

Rotten luck seems to follow Mattia Zenere, 31, on his travels lately.

Over the past five years, four of his flights have involved long delays or cancellations, including one misadventure — on a trip from London to Venice, Italy — that caused him to arrive a full day late.

But there's a silver lining: Thanks to Europe's robust consumer protection rules for airlines, in each case, the customer service professional was refunded his out-of-pocket expenses. Mr. Zenere also received an additional hardship payout from the airline for three of the disruptions.

"The law really works," he said.

For fed-up air travelers in the U.S., similar protections could be on the horizon — and the airlines aren't happy about it. Last week, President Biden and Pete Buttigieg, the transportation secretary, announced plans to introduce new rules this year that would require airlines to pay up for travel disruptions they cause.

Following waves of pandemic-era flight interruptions and the fiasco that forced Southwest Airlines to cancel 16,700 flights around the winter holidays, Biden is betting that Americans will want the kind of protections Europeans (and non-Europeans who fly in Europe) have enjoyed for nearly 20 years.

The E.U. law is popular — and generous. A flight delayed by more than three hours is considered canceled, and the passenger is entitled to between 250 euros ($273) and 600 euros in compensation. The payout is determined by flight distance, not ticket price, which airlines have long protested.

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Airlines can contest payments by arguing a disruption was caused by extraordinary circumstances such as bad weather, a strike action by air traffic controllers or "an out of the ordinary" technical issue with the plane. But European courts continue to narrow the definition of "extraordinary." Last week, one ruled that even the death of a co-pilot does not get an airline out of reimbursing customers for a delay.

Biden's plan would require cash refunds for significant delays or cancellations. The president also wants to see travelers compensated for meals, hotels, ground transport and rebooking fees. U.S. airlines are not currently required to offer cash compensation for delays or cancellations; they must compensate passengers who get "bumped" from flights.

That's not enough, said Mr. Biden. "You deserve to be fully compensated. Your time matters. The impact on your life matters."

Europe's legislation has changed how airlines schedule flights, "with particular focus now on arrival punctuality," a spokesman for Eurocontrol, the intergovernmental organization that helps manage Europe's commercial airspace, told DealBook. Still, as air travel booms, E.U. flight data shows delays to be a growing problem.

Airlines oppose compensation laws. "Airlines already have financial incentives to get their passengers to their destination as planned," Willie Walsh, the director general of the International Air Transport Association, a lobbying group, said in a statement criticizing the Biden plan. "The added layer of expense that this regulation will impose will not create a new incentive, but it will have to be recouped — which is likely to have an impact on ticket prices." Steer Group, an independent consultancy, calculated that in 2018, European airlines incurred a combined 5 billion euros in expenses to process the volume of compensation claims and pay out the meritorious ones. For each passenger disrupted, the airline incurred an average cost of 138 euros.

Europe's air passenger rights regulation hasn't been a panacea. It can still be time consuming and frustrating to secure claim money. Mr. Zenere, for example, is still arguing with Wizz Air, the airline that delayed his trip to Venice last year. They underpaid, he said, and still owe him 250 euros for the aborted trip. "I know my rights," he said. — *Bernhard Warner*

M. SCOTT BRAUER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Under President Biden's plan, airlines would have to compensate travelers for meals and hotels if their flight is canceled or significantly delayed.

In Case You Missed It

Elon Musk's new hire. The entrepreneur appointed Linda Yaccarino to replace him as C.E.O. of Twitter. Ms. Yaccarino, who was NBCUniversal's head of advertising, will take over a company that has struggled to expand its ad business.

Where is Ron DeSantis? The governor of Florida barred state agencies from releasing his travel records, spurring critics to warn that he was trying to hide damaging information as he gears up for a potential presidential run. Stephen A. Schwarzman, the billionaire co-founder of the investment giant Blackstone and a major Republican donor, met with the Florida governor recently but is unconvinced about his odds for success, according to Bloomberg.

George Santos pleads not guilty. The first-term Republican congressman from Long Island faces 13 counts of fraud, including money laundering, wire fraud, making false statements and stealing public funds. The indictment does not immediately prevent him from serving in the House, and it would take a two-thirds vote to expel him.

Crashing a plane for YouTube views. A 29-year-old pilot has admitted to intentionally crashing a small plane near Santa Barbara, Calif., as part of a video he filmed for a product sponsorship. He faces up to 20 years in prison for obstructing a federal investigation by cleaning up the crash site.

The Business of Zelda

Few video games have been as revolutionary as Nintendo's Legend of Zelda, the action-adventure series launched way back in 1986. Now, almost 40 years later, the Japanese company has unveiled the latest edition of the franchise, Tears of the Kingdom, hoping that the game lives up to the significant anticipation.

It was released on Friday (some fans took the day off to play) and is expected to be a hit. But will it be enough to compensate for Nintendo's slowing sales? The company last released a new console, the Switch, in 2017, the same year it released its last Zelda game, Breath of the Wild. Both were hugely successful. But the Switch faces growing competition, and gamers are pulling back from buying expensive hardware in general. New ventures, like "The Super Mario Bros. Movie" have provided a boost. But Nintendo doesn't have plans to launch a crucial new console within the next year.

Still, the Zelda Franchise is a valuable asset with a long history and a rabid fan base. Here is a look at the game, and its business importance, by the numbers:

29 million: Copies sold of Breath of the Wild, Nintendo's most popular Zelda game.

10.3 million: Number of YouTube views of a four-minute trailer for the new Tears of the Kingdom game, which was meticulously analyzed by superfans for hints about the upcoming release.

$69.99: Tears of the Kingdom's price tag, a $10 increase from what Nintendo usually charges for new games.

125 million: Total number of Switch consoles Nintendo has sold as of March 31, according to the company's website.

15 million: Number of Switch consoles Nintendo expects to sell this fiscal year, after selling 18 million Switch units in the year to March. "Sustaining the Switch's sales momentum will be difficult in its seventh year," Nintendo's president, Shuntaro Furukawa, said on a call with investors this past week, according to Bloomberg.

On our radar: 'BlackBerry'

Movies on Silicon Valley tech titans like Apple and Facebook captured the drama behind the businesses and their larger-than-life founders. "Blackberry," which hit theaters on Friday, is the latest film to tell the story of a trailblazing company. The phone, with its teeny tiny keyboard, was transformative and such a mainstay of executives' lives that it became known as the "crackberry." But the real subject of the film is the relationship between the technologists behind the device and the executives who turned into a booming business. And while the BlackBerry may have spectacularly flamed out in the iPhone era, reviewers have found plenty of current relevance in the movie. "More than anything, perhaps, "BlackBerry" highlights the vulnerability and exploitability of creatives in a cutthroat marketplace," wrote Jeannette Catsoulis for The New York Times.

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TECHNOLOGY

A Hurdle-Filled Race to Make Computer Chips

UNITED STATES

To Stay on the Cutting Edge Of Microprocessing Requires Raising Domestic Production

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
electronic brain.

The concept, sometimes called chiplets, caught on in a big way, with AMD, Apple, Amazon, Tesla, IBM and Intel introducing such products. Chiplets rapidly gained traction because smaller chips are cheaper to make, and bundles of them can top the performance of any single slice of silicon.

The strategy, based on advanced packaging technology, has become an essential tool to enabling progress in semiconductors. And it is one of the biggest shifts in years for an industry that drives innovations in fields like artificial intelligence, self-driving cars and military hardware.

"Packaging is where the action is going to be," said Subramanian Iyer, a professor of electrical and computer engineering at the University of California, Los Angeles, who helped pioneer the chiplet concept. "It's happening because there is actually no other way."

The catch is that such packaging, like making chips themselves, is overwhelmingly dominated by companies in Asia. Although the United States accounts for around 12 percent of global semiconductor production, American companies provide just 3 percent of chip packaging, according to IPC, a trade association.

That issue has now landed chiplets in the middle of U.S. industrial policymaking. The CHIPS Act, a $52 billion subsidy package that passed last summer, was seen as President Biden's move to reinvigorate domestic chip making by providing money to build more sophisticated factories called "fabs." But part of it was also aimed at stoking advanced packaging factories in the United States to capture more of that essential process.

"As chips get smaller, the way you arrange the chips, which is packaging, is more and more important and we need it done in America," Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo, said in a speech at Georgetown University in February.

The Commerce Department is now accepting applications for manufacturing grants from the CHIPS Act, including for chip packaging factories. It is also allocating funding to a research program specifically on advanced packaging.

Some chip packaging companies are moving quickly for the funding. One is Integra Technologies in Wichita, Kan., which announced plans for a $1.8 billion expansion there but said that was contingent on receiving federal subsidies. Amkor Technology, an Arizona packaging service that has most of its operations in Asia, also said it was talking to customers and government officials about a U.S. production presence.

Packaging chips is not a new concept and chiplets are just the latest iteration of that idea, using technological advances that help cram the chips closer together — side by side or stacked on top of one another — along with faster electrical connections among them.

"What is unique about chiplets is the way they are connected electrically," said Richard Otte, the chief executive of Promex Industries, a chip packaging service in Santa Clara, Calif.

Chips cannot do anything without a way to connect them with other components, which means they need to be placed in some kind of package that can carry electrical signals. That process starts after factories complete the initial phase of manufacturing, which may create hundreds of chips on a silicon wafer. Once that wafer is sliced apart, individual chips are typically bonded to a key base layer called a substrate, which can conduct electrical signals.

That combination is then coated in protective plastic, forming a package that can be plugged into a circuit board that is essential for connecting to other components in a system.

These processes originally required lots of manual labor, leading Silicon Valley companies to shift packaging to lower-wage countries in Asia more than 50 years ago. Most chips are typically flown to packaging services in countries like Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea and China.

Since then, packaging advances have gained importance because of the diminishing returns from Moore's Law, the shorthand expression for chip miniaturization that for decades drove progress in Silicon Valley. It is named for Gordon Moore, a founder of Intel, whose 1965 paper described how rapidly companies had doubled the number of transistors on a typical chip, which improved performance at a lower cost.

But these days, smaller transistors are not necessarily cheaper, partly because building factories for leading-edge chips can cost $10 billion to $20 billion. Big, complex chips also are costly to design and tend to have more manufacturing defects, even as companies in fields like generative A.I. want more transistors than can currently be packed onto the biggest chips manufacturing machines allow.

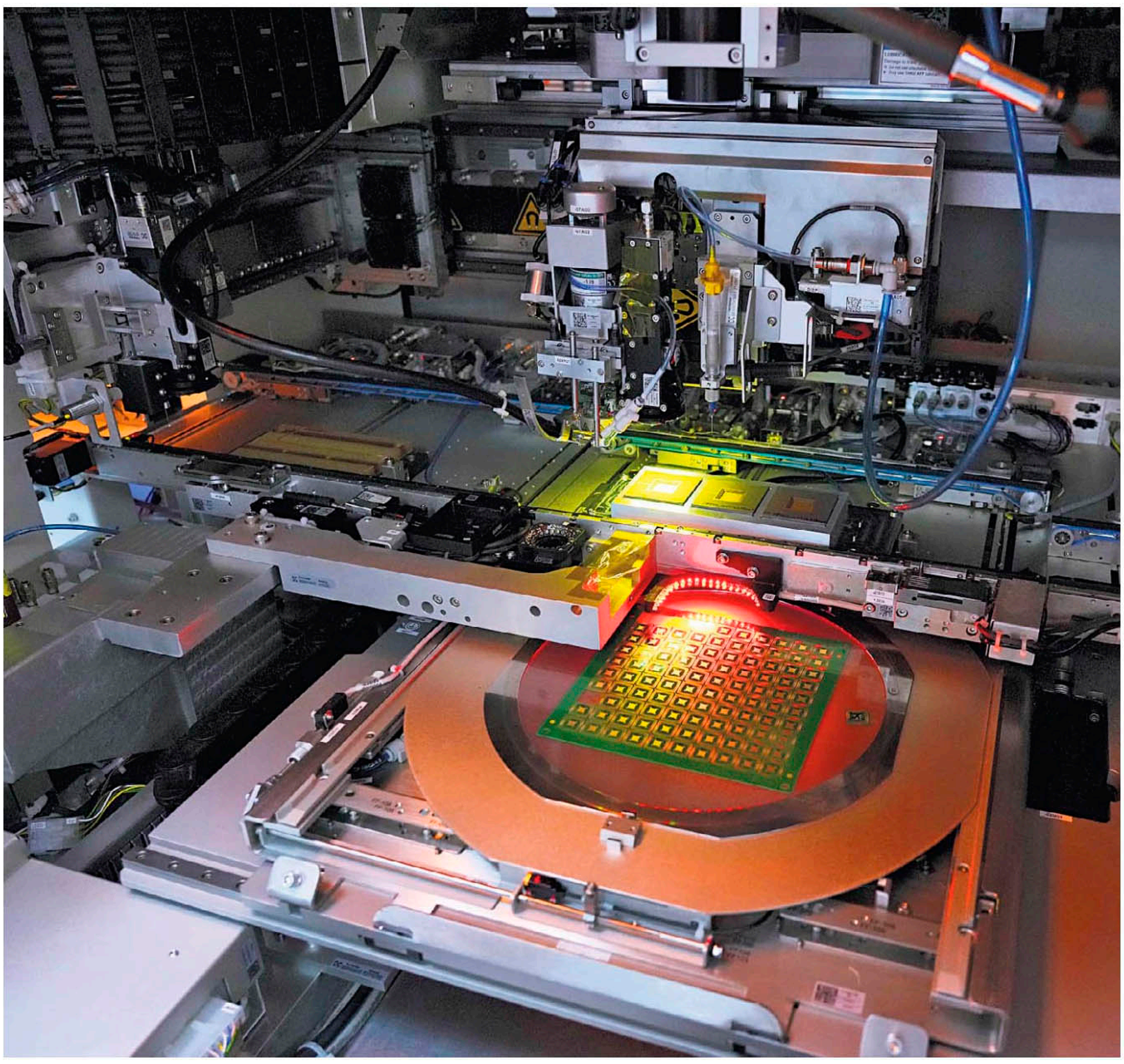
"The natural response to that is putting more things in a package," said Anirudh Devgan, chief executive of Cadence Design Systems, whose software is used to design conventional chips as well as chiplet-style products.

Synopsys, a rival, said it was tracking more than 140 customer projects based on packaging multiple chips. As much as 80 percent of microprocessors will use chiplet-style designs by 2027, according to the market research firm Yole Group.

Today, companies typically design all the chiplets in a package along with their own connection technology. But industry groups are working on technical standards so companies can more easily assemble products from chiplets that come from different makers.

The new technology is used mostly for extreme performance. Intel recently introduced a processor called Ponte Vecchio with 47 chiplets that will be used in a powerful supercomputer at Argonne National Laboratory, near Chicago.

In January, AMD disclosed plans for an unusual product, the MI300, that combines chiplets for



At Promex Industries in Santa Clara, Calif., computer chips and packaging materials are joined together. One of the goals of the CHIPS Act, a $52 billion subsidy package, is to increase the presence of such factories in the U.S.

Chip packaging was a labor-intensive process that Silicon Valley sent overseas.

standard calculations with others designed for computer graphics, along with a large pool of memory chips. That processor, intended to power another advanced supercomputer at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, has 146 billion transistors, compared with tens of billions for most advanced conventional chips.

Sam Naffziger, an AMD senior vice president, said it was not a slam dunk for the company to bet its chip business for server computers on chiplets. Packaging complexities were a major hurdle, he said, which were eventually overcome with help from an undisclosed partner.

But chiplets have paid off for AMD. The company has sold more than 12 million chips based on the idea since 2017, according to Mercury Research, and has become a major player in microprocessors that power the web.

Packaging services still need others to supply the substrates that chiplets require to connect to circuit boards and one another. One company driving the chiplet boom is Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, which already makes chips for AMD and hundreds of others and offers an advanced silicon-based substrate called an interposer.

Intel has been developing similar technology, as well as enhanc-

TAIWAN

A Company That Is Crucial To the Security of an Island Faces a Shortage of Engineers

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
in Taiwan, was not enough for him to stick around.

Over the past decade, TSMC, as the company is known, has built a wide lead over rivals like Intel and Samsung in the race to make the smallest, and fastest, microchips. Largely because of the ingenuity of its engineers, TSMC has become one of the most geopolitically important firms in the world.

Today, many at the top of Taiwan's semiconductor industry fear the tiny island territory will not be able to sustain the growing demand for a new generation of engineers. A shrinking population, demanding work culture and an abundance of competing tech jobs have meant workers have become ever more scarce.

The stakes are enormous. Some military strategists argue that TSMC's dominance in microchips provides Taiwan a guarantee against an invasion by China — in part because the United States would need to defend such an important piece of its supply chain.

Taiwan's talent crisis is intertwined with TSMC's success. The company's employee count has grown almost 70 percent over the past decade, while Taiwan's birthrate has plummeted by half. Start-ups in promising fields like artificial intelligence are luring top engineers. In recruiting, TSMC must compete with internet companies like Google and foreign semiconductor companies like ASML of the Netherlands, which generally offer better work-life balance and perks like free food.

TSMC's leaders have defended the company's famously tough work culture, which has helped it grow into a $440 billion behemoth with 73,000 employees. Morris Chang, the founder, recently defended the military discipline he expected — spouses, he said, would just fall back asleep when TSMC called employees to work in the middle of the night. But in recent years, TSMC's chairman, Mark Liu, has repeatedly acknowledged that the largest challenge facing Taiwan's semiconductor industry is its shortage of talent.

Taiwan's largest job search platform, 104 Job Bank, had more than 33,000 listings for chip industry jobs as of August. Last year, Taiwan's chip sector employed about 326,000 people, according to the government-affiliated Industrial Technology Research Institute.

TSMC has been forced to adjust its recruitment strategies. It has broadened hiring channels and increased its base salary for master's graduates, who can now expect to receive an average annual compensation of up to $65,000. It begins recruiting Taiwanese graduate students in September, well ahead of the conventional job-hunting season of March, and has even begun to cultivate high schoolers with online classes about the basics of semiconductors.

"Many companies are struggling to find suitable candidates," said Burn Lin, a former vice president at TSMC and the current dean of National Tsing Hua University's College of Semiconductor Research.

"Now when searching for talent, they are not very picky," Mr. Lin said. "You don't necessarily have to study electrical engineering or computer science."

The college Mr. Lin heads is one of four specialized semiconductor schools that were established by the Taiwanese government in 2021 in response to calls for action by industry players like Mr. Liu and Tsai Ming-kai, chairman of the chip design firm MediaTek.

"In cultivating semiconductor talent, we are racing against time," Tsai Ing-wen, Taiwan's president, said at the unveiling of Mr. Lin's semiconductor college.

The challenges facing Taiwan's chip industry come amid a global crunch. In China, where officials have sought to lure Taiwanese engineers to build up its fledgling chip industry, the state-backed Chinese Academy of Sciences has fretted about a "serious shortage" of qualified workers. By one estimate, China's microchip industry was short 200,000 people.

In the United States, govern-

TSMC has become a worldwide leader in producing the smallest, and fastest, microchips.

TECHNOLOGY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ing less expensive conventional plastic substrates in an approach favored by some such as the Silicon Valley start-up Eliyan. Intel has also been developing new packaging prototypes under a Pentagon program and hopes to win CHIPs Act support for a new pilot packaging plant.

But the United States has no major makers of those substrates, which are primarily produced in Asia and evolved from technologies used in manufacturing circuit boards. Many U.S. companies have also left that business, another worry that industry groups hope will spur federal funding to help board suppliers start making substrates.

In March, Mr. Biden issued a determination that advanced packaging and domestic circuit board production were essential for national security, and announced $50 million in Defense Production Act funding for American and Canadian companies in those fields.

Even with such subsidies, assembling all of the elements required to reduce U.S. dependence on Asian companies "is a huge challenge," said Andreas Olofsson, who ran a Defense Department research effort in the field before founding a packaging start-up called Zero ASIC. "You don't have suppliers. You don't have a work force. You don't have equipment. You have to sort of start from scratch."

Ana Swanson contributed reporting.

CHINA

Growing Trade Restrictions Force New Business Plans And Altered Supply Chains

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

pan are expected to do the same soon.

The facility belonged to Yangtze Memory Technologies Corporation, or YMTC, a memory chip company that Xi Jinping, China's president, has extolled as a flagbearer in China's race toward self-reliance. Now, the chip maker and its peers are hurriedly overhauling supply chains and rewriting business plans.

Nearly seven months later, the U.S. trade barriers have accelerated China's push for a more independent chip sector. Western technology and money have pulled out, but state funding is flooding in to cultivate homegrown alternatives to produce less advanced but still lucrative semiconductors. And China has not given up on making high-end chips: Manufacturers are attempting to work with older parts from abroad not blocked by the U.S. sanctions, as well as less advanced equipment at home.

The tough U.S. restrictions stemmed from alarm over what officials in Washington viewed as the threat posed by China's use of its technology companies to upgrade its military arsenal. Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, recently characterized the sentiment as part of a "new consensus" in Washington that decades of economic integration with China was not wholly successful, adding that the new controls were "carefully tailored" to go after China's most cutting-edge semiconductors.

Under the October rules, American enterprises and citizens may no longer aid any Chinese companies building chip technology that meets a certain threshold of sophistication. The controls went beyond Trump administration trade curbs that went after specific companies like the Chinese telecom giant Huawei.

During those earlier trade tensions, Beijing mobilized vast sums to cultivate homegrown alternatives to Western chip makers. But foreign components were readily available and of higher quality, leaving many Chinese firms unwilling to make the switch.

Those reservations about using materials from China appear to be easing. Chinese tech companies up and down the supply chain are assessing how to replace Western chips and related components, even those unaffected by U.S. controls. Guangzhou Automobile Group, a state-owned electric vehicle manufacturer, said in February that it aimed to eventually purchase all of its roughly 1,000 chips in its cars from Chinese providers. It currently buys 90 percent of its chips from overseas.

"The goal now in China in a lot of areas is to de-Americanize supply chains," said Paul Triolo, the senior vice president for China at Albright Stonebridge Group, a strategy firm.

Dozens of Chinese chip companies are completing plans to raise money through public offerings this year. They include China's second largest chip manufacturer, Hua Hong Semiconductor, as well as a chip tool maker backed by Huawei.

The technology disputes between the world's two largest economies show no signs of abating. The Biden administration has drafted, but not yet released, new rules that would restrict American venture capital investments in advanced chip companies in China. Foreign investment into China's semiconductor sector this year has already tumbled to $600 million, its lowest point since 2020, according to data from PitchBook, which tracks private financing. And officials are mulling tighter controls on technologies like quantum computing or chip manufacturing equipment.

U.S. restrictions have caused Beijing to activate a state fund that had been dormant because of waste and graft: The government's "Big Fund" injected roughly $1.9 billion into YMTC in February to bolster its response to the U.S. restrictions. The fund has also recently put money into chip equipment and material suppliers, according to state news media reports.

The new subsidies aim to remove Western components from China's supply chains. The southern city of Guangzhou has earmarked more than $21 billion this year for semiconductor and other tech projects including those that attempt to replace Western chip equipment suppliers. Purchase orders for Chinese-made equipment have spiked in recent months, according to corporate reports and press statements.

Mr. Xi has been outspoken about what he sees as an effort by Western countries to enforce an "all-around containment" of China. During an important legislative meeting in March, the Chinese president interrupted remarks by a delegate from a Chinese crane manufacturer. The exchange was widely reported by state news media: "The chips inside your cranes, are they locally sourced?" Mr. Xi asked. Yes, the delegate said.

So far, less than 1 percent of all semiconductors in China are at the industry's top end that are subject to U.S. controls, according to estimates from Yole Group, a market research firm. The rest are less advanced, or "mature," semiconductors, found in everyday consumer electronics and cars, and are "the vast majority of the business," said Jean-Christophe Eloy, chief executive of Yole Group. Those chips, largely untouched by the Biden administration's October controls, are now seeing a surge of investment, he added.

China's two largest chip manufacturers, the state-backed Semiconductor Manufacturing International Corporation, or SMIC, and Hua Hong Semiconductor have each announced billions of dollars this year to expand production into mature chips, according to public announcements.

Yet over the long term, China's lack of access to world-class tools needed to make chips could stymie its progress in many advanced industries like artificial intelligence and aerospace, according to Handel Jones, chief executive of International Business Strategies, a consulting firm.

Last August, YMTC had targeted a threefold increase in its share of global chip production to 13 percent by 2027, challenging chip incumbents like U.S.-based Micron Technology, according to Yole Group's estimates. Facing trouble building out its second factory, the Chinese memory chip maker is facing a decline in production, sliding to just 3 percent of the market in 2027.

International companies that had invested in China's semiconductor industry are diverting their investments elsewhere. South Korea and Taiwan's leading chip manufacturers, Samsung and Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, or TSMC, are investing billions of dollars into new production in the United States. The Taiwanese chip maker is applying for U.S. subsidies for its Arizona factory that force it to cap its investment into China for a decade.

At the same time, experts said, the weakening of foreign influence over China's chip sector is creating opportunity for domestic companies. Last month, a semiconductor equipment manufacturer went public in Shanghai. Shares of the company, Crystal Growth & Energy Equipment, have climbed 30 percent since its debut.

"It's because of the sanctions that there's now space in the market," said Xiang Ligang, a director of a Beijing-based technology consortium who has advised the Chinese government on technology issues. "Now we have a chance to develop."

The recent burst of state cash could supercharge China's share of global production in lower-end chips. In the next decade, China could account for roughly half of the world's production capacity for a class of mature semiconductors, according to a jointly written report by Rhodium Group, a consulting firm, and Stiftung Neue Verantwortung, a think tank in Berlin.

That could create new supply chain vulnerabilities for foreign companies, said Jan-Peter Kleinhans, an author of the report.

"Putting all of your eggs in one basket is a stupid idea," he said. "This is a choke point that can be exploited."

Ana Swanson contributed reporting.

QILAI SHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BILLY H.C. KWOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Semiconductor Manufacturing International Corporation, top, and Guangzhou Automobile Group, both partly or fully state-owned, aim to invest billions in Chinese chips. Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, above, has opened a factory in Phoenix and would cap its China investments if it received subsidies.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'It's no longer as glorious as it used to be.'

Royale Lee, who left TSMC and is now a web developer.

ment efforts to use billions of dollars in subsidies to attract semiconductor plants have spurred Intel, Samsung, TSMC and others to announce plans for new plants. But surveys of executives showed talent shortages remain a problem.

At TSMC, the recruitment gap back home has added urgency to its efforts to build factories, and train workers, outside Taiwan. Unlike most major hardware companies, which long ago spread research and production across the world, TSMC has built the vast majority of its chip manufacturing plants, known as fabs, in Taiwan. The clustering of its best employees and suppliers as well as most cutting-edge plants has helped it over the years, but the company needs to start looking beyond Taiwan, according to the Harvard Business School professor Willy Shih.

"If I were TSMC, I'd get serious about finding other places where I can get that talent," he said.

Making semiconductors requires skilled and disciplined employees, and it is part of the reason TSMC excels at it, said Wu Chih-I, director of the TSMC-National Taiwan University Joint Research Center.

Mr. Wu, who worked as an engineer at Intel early in his career, said tech workers today were more interested in jobs that fit their interests, rather than just pursuing a paycheck the way his generation did.

"If you don't have significant financial pressure, you might choose a less demanding job, even if it means passing up the high salary and promising future of a semiconductor career."

Mr. Lee, the former TSMC employee, said younger Taiwanese were less willing to endure the grueling experience of working in a fab.

"It's no longer as glorious as it used to be," said Mr. Lee, who now works as a web developer for an American firm.

Jason Chin, senior vice president of 104 Job Bank, said TSMC and other chip companies would never stop the turnover without improving working conditions.

That applies not just to workers like Mr. Lee who face the grueling job of keeping plants running, but also critical researchers who think up new ways to make chips ever faster.

Frank Lin, 30, is one such TSMC researcher who left because he found the work tedious and unfulfilling. His role as product engineer and chip designer was not as high pressure as others at the company, but he nonetheless struggled, craving more meaning and a sense of accomplishment. Even though he had a master's degree from one of Taiwan's most prestigious universities, he was given scant responsibility and assigned rote daily tasks.

"Though the amount of money I make continues to increase, is this all there is to life?" he remembered thinking often at work when sitting in a sunlit office pantry. After fewer than three years at the company, he struck out on his own as an independent financial adviser. He has not looked back.

"People want to work for themselves," he said. "There are so many possibilities in the outside world right now."

MARKETING

ADRIANA BELLET

Two Creative Titans Share a Deep Faith In Being Authentic

By JUSTIN BAEK

The birth of the partnership between the creative directors Free Richardson and Phil Cho hinged on, of all things, their shared faith. In 2018, Mr. Cho, founder of NoLedge Productions, pitched a collaboration between his company and Mr. Richardson's creative agency the Compound.

"I go to Slide 2, and he goes, 'Yo. Turn that off,'" Mr. Cho recently recalled. "He's like, 'Do you love God?' I was like, 'Yeah. I'm a believer,' and he goes, 'All right. We're good.'"

Of course, it was not just spirituality that brought them together. Mr. Richardson also was impressed with the effort Mr. Cho showed when documenting an event through photographs and videos at the Compound's art gallery. "Phil has something special about him," Mr. Richardson said recently. "You can just feel a good presence of energy."

The two companies are now a major force in marketing, particularly around the intersection of sports and hip-hop. Together, they have curated an impressive portfolio of campaigns for brands including the shoe company Clarks, ESPN, the software company Niantic and DraftKings. Last year, the duo won two Cannes Lions and one Cannes Dolphin advertising awards and five Muse Creative Awards, given for inspirational marketing campaigns. Last month, they won 12 Clio Awards, given for creativity in advertising.

Mr. Richardson, 50, also known as Set Free, is African American and was born in the Bronx. He grew up in Queens and Philadelphia and was deeply involved in the hip-hop community and the world of street basketball culture. In 1998, he created the AND1 Mixtape, a video compilation documenting a traveling basketball competition, and in 2007, he founded the Compound.

Mr. Richardson's story has helped shape and inspire many, including Mr. Cho.

Born and raised in Edison, N.J., Mr. Cho, 33, is Korean American and grew up with a passion for basketball and hip-hop music. He was a middle school student when the AND1 Mixtape Tour debuted. ("Some moms in Korea probably know about AND1," Mr. Cho said about the tour's reach.) Since starting NoLedge at age 26, he has collaborated with a variety of brands including Toyota, the record label 300 Entertainment and musicians like Akon and Year of the Ox.

Today, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Cho are innovators in the crowded landscape of creative marketing, and consider themselves family as they "navigate the invisible handcuffs of corporate rule," as Mr. Richardson put it.

"Authenticity is a word that gets thrown around a lot in our industry," Ari Weiss, chief creative officer at the advertising agency DDB Worldwide, wrote in an email. But "you're either authentic or you're not."

He added, "Mr. Free Richardson and Mr. Phil Cho are pure authenticity."

The two spoke at the Compound's headquarters in Brooklyn to discuss remaining authentic to their craft, being relevant and their shared faith. The conversation has been edited and condensed.

How do you stay current?

FREE RICHARDSON I think it always goes back to staying authentic and storytelling. Everybody has a story, and you can tell it through A.I., pictures, music, all the creative elements. Look at the NFT [nonfungible token] world. It came, and though it's not gone, the whole time, I was like, I'm still going to go with touchable, feel-able art. Authenticity within. Look at a tree. The leaves will die before the root of the tree dies. A lot of things are happening through technology, and a lot of things are going to happen, but I don't know anything that is bigger than the Mona Lisa. No matter what happens in technology, the root of creativity will always be around.

PHIL CHO The root of what we are is, It's always been about relationships. When I walk into the Compound, and I see all this artwork, like Jonni Cheatwood, and you see how long it took for them to come up with these ideas and wasn't A.I.-generated, I feel like that's what drives more value.

RICHARDSON Yeah, I think it's a lot of relationships. That's with everything. The two things in life are communication and relationships. If we don't communicate, you can't make the relationship. Creativity is a revolving door. I still work with people that I worked with 20 years ago. It's the reason we still hear Fleetwood Mac and Marvin Gaye songs in the same rotation that you hear Drake. And so when things are authentic and true, the creativity never goes away.

How are you navigating challenges and opportunities facing the advertising industry?

RICHARDSON I think the ratio of African Americans and Asians is very small. I don't blame everything on race, but I think it's a tougher role for me and Phil being a minority, because there's not a lot of dominance of minorities in the advertising agency world, especially with Fortune 500 companies, C-suite level and businesses, especially small ones. [According to a 2022 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics survey, of workers in "advertising, public relations, and related services," 7.8 percent were African American and 6.6 percent were Asian American.] We're kind of small, SWAT-style — boutique-small.

That's what I consider Compound and NoLedge. It's a strategic partnership that executes some of the same things that big advertising agencies execute, without the red tape.

CHO Before doing Compound, there weren't people telling me how to facilitate production, and I felt like I had to just learn from trial and error. And a lot of the people that I would meet, they did happen to be white. So again, I'm not trying to make it a race thing either, but I just felt like there's not a lot of people with my skin tone that are doing this and can help me out. So I think even merging with the Compound, it was a whole new world for me of just trying to be confident in what I'm doing and understanding that.

TONJE THILESEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Collaborations between Free Richardson of the Compound, below left, and Phil Cho or NoLedge Productions have won numerous awards.

ADRIANA BELLET

What's a lesson that you learned from your staff, team or peers?

RICHARDSON At the end of the day, everybody makes mistakes. And myself, just looking people in the eye and just being like, "All of us are the same." I think learning and working with NoLedge, it takes time. Everybody needs time: to execute a task, to learn, to communicate, to talk. To respect time and respect people and giving them time. Not to where you just want to get them to or the client, but just everybody needs time.

CHO With the guys that are in NoLedge, for me, it's patience. I'll say this, but it's harder to practice it. You might be able to do X, Y and Z, and you want the same from your guys, but you got to understand that they also need to learn X, Y and Z first. So you can't expect people to move how you move.

How do you keep campaigns authentic and meaningful?

RICHARDSON I try to give everybody their own white box. When you go look at an apartment, you'd rather see the apartment empty so you can dream of how you're going to decorate and design it. But if you go into a home that's already furnished, it already blocks you in. You can't really put your ideas on it. And so walking into brands and working with companies, I try to give them the white box and tell them, "How do you want to design this?"

And then my job after that is just to put a magnifying glass on your ideas. You're there to help the brand, not really to put your ideas on their brands. And doing it that way, it always helps expand what the goal is. The goal is not for my ideas to be presented. The goal is for my ideas to latch onto your ideas and make them bigger.

CHO I really do feel like Free kind of sets his own trend. And I think that's what a real creative is, right? To me, the better creative director you are, the more you don't care about what other people think about you, and I think that's given me confidence, too. It's just what comes out of when we facilitate a project — just do what we feel would be dope. Just be comfortable with it.

What are the challenges of a partnership?

RICHARDSON Time. We can't do everything we want to do. I mean, you have to understand what you're going into with partnerships. It's like a marriage. Phil, I love him. He's my brother, my little cousin and a son. Then there's times that he's my uncle. I got to look up to him in certain areas.

CHO It's always about communicating. People have different work flows. It's not like mine is exactly the same as Free's. But I think the reason this works is so many young guys want to run the ship, right? So even while doing production, there's certain things that I would do differently if I was shooting. But at the same time, a good leader is a good follower. I feel like these years right now, I'm soaking up the game. The same way Free was talking about clients and how you got to support their vision. I'm kind of doing a similar thing with Free. I'm supporting his vision.

How do you stay inspired?

RICHARDSON God. I want the world to understand that. He's just the creator of all. If you can't be inspired by thinking of that, I don't know what else you're going to be inspired by. God is my source of creativity.

CHO I agree. All the stories in this world from different people and backgrounds — he's the biggest artist.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION

In re: LOYALTY VENTURES INC., *et al.*,[1] Debtors.) Chapter 11) Case No. 23-90111 (CML)) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF ENTRY OF ORDER CONFIRMING THE DEBTORS' JOINT CHAPTER 11 PLAN AND APPROVING ON A FINAL BASIS THE DISCLOSURE STATEMENT OF LOYALTY VENTURES INC. AND ITS DEBTOR AFFILIATES PURSUANT TO CHAPTER 11 OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT on April 27, 2023, Christopher M. Lopez, United States Bankruptcy Judge of the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the "Court") entered the *Order Confirming the Debtors' Joint Chapter 11 Plan and Approving on a Final Basis the Disclosure Statement of Loyalty Ventures Inc. and its Debtor Affiliates Pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code* [Docket No. 218] (the "Confirmation Order") confirming the *First Amended Combined Disclosure Statement and Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Loyalty Ventures Inc. and its Debtor Affiliates Pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code* [Docket No. 200] (the "Combined DS and Plan").[2]

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE THAT copies of the Confirmation Order, the Combined DS and Plan and all documents filed in these chapter 11 cases are available free of charge by visiting https://cases.ra.kroll.com/LVI. You may also obtain copies of any pleading by visiting the Court's website at http://www.txs.uscourts.gov in accordance with the procedures and fees set forth therein or by contacting the undersigned counsel.

Dated: May 11, 2023, Houston, Texas, /s/ Matthew D. Cavenaugh, **JACKSON WALKER LLP,** Matthew D. Cavenaugh (TX Bar No. 24062656), Jennifer F. Wertz (TX Bar No. 24072822), J. Machir Stull (TX Bar No. 24070697), Victoria Argeroplos (TX Bar No. 24105799), 1401 McKinney Street, Suite 1900, Houston, Texas 77010, Telephone: (713) 752-4200, Facsimile: (713) 752-4221, Email: mcavenaugh@jw.com, jwertz@jw.com, mstull@jw.com, vargeroplos@jw.com, *Co-Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession* -and- **AKIN GUMP STRAUSS HAUER & FELD LLP,** Philip C. Dublin (admitted *pro hac vice*), Meredith A. Lahaie (admitted *pro hac vice*), One Bryant Park, New York, New York 10036, Telephone: (212) 872-1000, Facsimile: (212) 872-1002, Email: pdublin@akingump.com, mlahaie@akingump.com -and- **AKIN GUMP STRAUSS HAUER & FELD LLP,** Marty L. Brimmage, Jr. (TX Bar No. 00793386), Lacy M. Lawrence (TX Bar No. 24055913), Rachel Biblo Block (TX Bar No. 24097382), 2300 N. Field Street, Suite 1800, Dallas, Texas 75201, Telephone: (214) 969-2800, Facsimile: (214) 969-4343, Email: mbrimmage@akingump.com, llawrence@akingump.com, rbibloblock@akingump.com, *Co-Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession*

[1] The Debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of the Debtors' tax identification numbers, are: Loyalty Ventures Inc. (3472); LVI Lux Holdings S.à r.l. (5350); LVI Sky Oak LLC (1657); and Rhombus Investments L.P. (7493). The location of the Debtors' service address for purposes of these chapter 11 cases is: 8235 Douglas Avenue, Suite 1200, Dallas, TX 75225.

[2] Capitalized terms used herein but not otherwise defined have the same meanings as set forth in the Combined DS and Plan.

Mike Pride, 76, New Hampshire Editor Who Transformed a Newspaper, Dies

CONCORD MONITOR

As editor of The Concord Monitor, Mike Pride, near left, led interviews with Senator Barack Obama and other 2008 presidential candidates.

By SAM ROBERTS

Mike Pride, who transformed the New Hampshire newspaper The Concord Monitor into a prize-winning paragon of regional journalism, mentoring generations of reporters and editors, defying the trope about the dying small-town newspaper and exerting an outsize impact on his profession, died on April 24 in a hospice in Palm Harbor, Fla. He was 76.

The cause was myelofibrosis, a rare type of blood cancer, his son Dr. Yuri Pride said.

As The Monitor's managing editor from 1978 to 1983 and its editor until he retired in 2008, Mr. Pride won the National Press Foundation's Editor of the Year Award in 1987 for overseeing The Monitor's eloquent coverage of the death of a hometown heroine, the astronaut and teacher Christa McAuliffe, in the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger.

And he presided over a newspaper that was regarded as a model of objective reporting — in contrast to the strident front-page editorials of its fellow paper The New Hampshire Union Leader, then known as The Manchester Union Leader — and an unparalleled training ground in political reporting for young journalists every four years, when the state, as the first to hold a presidential primary, emerges from relative obscurity to draw a scrum of candidates from both major parties and busloads of the national press corps.

A leader who taught his reporters 'the power of words.'

In 2008, Preston Gannaway of The Monitor won the Pulitzer Prize for feature photography for her intimate chronicle of a family coping with a parent's terminal illness. Under Mr. Pride's leadership, the New England Newspaper & Press Association named The Monitor New England newspaper of the year 19 times.

"We see ourselves as a local paper, deeply rooted in this community," he told American Journalism Review in 2003. "Even though we're small, we don't think that way."

The newspaper's daily sales belied its impact. Its circulation of about 22,000 was equal to half the population of Concord, which, as the state capital, swells with politicians, lobbyists and patronage in general when the Legislature is in session.

During Mr. Pride's tenure, The Monitor covered the elevation of David Souter, a former New Hampshire attorney general, to the United States Supreme Court; the wholesale release of patients from mental hospitals without sufficient support in the communities to which they were being discharged; the Roman Catholic diocese's efforts to protect priests accused of sexual abuse; and the appointment of the first openly gay Episcopal bishop.

Mr. Pride introduced a diverse rotating selection of community columnists and included a regular feature about prison life, written by an inmate who was serving a life sentence for murdering his ex-wife's boyfriend. He invited local poets to newsroom lunches to encourage reporters to write more lyrically. Thanks to the support he earned from the publishers under whom he worked, the newsroom staff grew at one point to 46 from 18.

Like any other newsroom, The Monitor's wasn't nirvana. Mr. Pride could be gruff and intimidating. And on the morning the Challenger exploded in 1986, he was in court for a lawsuit involving overtime pay in which The Monitor was unsuccessfully arguing that reporters should be treated not as hourly workers but as salaried professionals.

From 2014 to 2017, Mr. Pride served as the administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes; he was the first and only former Pulitzer juror and board member (he was its co-chairman in 2008) to hold that position. He recruited a more diverse jury and opened the competitions to online and print magazines.

"He taught us the power of words, and how to wield them judiciously, but without fear," said Jo Becker, who worked at The Monitor and later became a Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter for The New York Times.

"His ambitions for us were certainly beyond our actual abilities back then," she added. "But that was his gift. He believed in us, and somehow he made us believe that we were capable of meeting the high bar he set."

Charles Michael Pride was born on July 31, 1946, in Bridgeport, Conn. His father, Charles, held various jobs, from selling cars to designing cemeteries. His mother, Bernadine (Nordstrom) Pride, was a county clerk and a homemaker. The family moved to Clearwater, Fla., when Mike was 2.

He got his first byline at 14 after his cousin Ron Pride, a sports editor for The Tampa Tribune, recruited him to cover a high school track meet. After flunking out of the University of Florida in 1966, Mr. Pride enlisted in the Army, learned Russian at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, Calif., and was deployed to West Germany. There, he intercepted hints that the Soviet Union was about to invade Czechoslovakia — an intelligence coup that a skittish senior officer filed away without forwarding it urgently.

After he was discharged, Mr. Pride was hired as a sports reporter at The Tribune. He worked nights, which enabled him to earn a bachelor's degree during the day at the University of South Florida in 1972. After graduation, he was hired by The Clearwater Sun, where he eventually became city editor. He later took a job at The Tallahassee Democrat, and he was working as an editor there when he was recruited by The Monitor's publisher.

Mr. Pride wrote hundreds of columns for The Monitor and other publications, including Brill's Content magazine. He wrote, co-wrote or edited eight books, including several about the Civil War and World War II.

In 1970 he married Monique Praet, who survives him. In addition to his son Yuri, he is also survived by two other sons, Sven and Misha; six grandchildren; his brother, Robin; and his sister, Pamela Pride.

1916-2005

James Sakoda

A Japanese American whose wartime internment inspired his creation of a widely used social science tool.

By ELIZABETH LANDAU and BEN KLEMENS

UNLIKE MOST OF THE 120,000 Japanese Americans detained in internment camps in the United States during World War II, James Sakoda had a mission: to document the experience of incarceration. He took about 1,800 pages of notes, largely in private, lest he be accused of being a traitor or a spy.

Those notes would form the basis of his 1949 dissertation on the dynamics of individuals and groups at one of these camps, the Minidoka War Relocation Center in Idaho. Tucked into Appendix B of the paper was possibly the first example of what is known as an "agent-based model" — a simulation of how individual actions can add up to large-scale patterns.

The tool is essential in a wide variety of fields, and has helped social scientists, epidemiologists, financial regulators, city planners and wildlife experts do their work. During the coronavirus pandemic, for instance, agent-based models were essential for forecasting the spread of the virus and prioritizing vaccines for certain groups of people.

CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

James Sakoda in the 1970s at a computer laboratory at Brown University that he decorated with his origami. While at Brown, he pushed to merge computing with the study of human behavior.

To develop the model, Sakoda used the home computing technology of the time: a checkerboard. Each checker was given a simple rule for movement, based on its immediate surroundings. By changing the rules even only slightly, Sakoda showed that the pieces could mingle freely, or they could quickly segregate by color.

Ecologists and environmentalists have used agent-based models to investigate the interactions between shipping boats and beluga whales in Canada's St. Lawrence River estuary; between humans and elephants in Tanzania; and between scuba diving tourism and coral reefs in Thailand. Transportation agencies use the models to predict how even minor changes, like expanding a bus stop, could affect the flow of traffic.

"James Sakoda was perhaps the first social scientist ever to apply computational modeling for unraveling the complexity of social processes," Andreas Flache, a sociologist at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands, said in an email.

Despite the widespread use of his model, Sakoda did not get much credit for his innovation.

James Minoru Sakoda, who was known as Jimmy, was born on April 21, 1916, on an alfalfa ranch in Lancaster, Calif., in northern Los Angeles County. His conservative Buddhist parents, Kenichi and Tazu (Kihara) Sakoda, were both from Japan.

After moving around the Los Angeles area, his parents took their four children to Japan, where James attended high school for three years and Tokyo University for another three.

With $100 in his pocket, Sakoda returned to California and enrolled at the University of California, Berkeley, where he studied psychology. It was during his second year there that the secretary of war established detention camps on the West Coast for Americans of Japanese heritage.

Sakoda was still at Berkeley when he began documenting Japanese-Americans' reactions to the crisis. Through a classmate, he met Dorothy Swaine Thomas, a sociologist who was recruiting soon-to-be-incarcerated fieldworkers for a project called the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

All four Sakoda siblings were back in the United States by the time they were ordered to one of these camps; their parents remained in Japan during the war. Sakoda, his brother, George, and his sisters, Ruby and May, were initially incarcerated in 1942, at the Tulare Assembly Center in the San Joaquin Valley in central California.

"Soldiers stood watching with rifles and Tommy guns," Sakoda wrote in his journal, noting that tall grass poked through the asphalt floors of his barracks, and that the condition of the latrines was "open to criticism."

He went on to chronicle daily camp life for Thomas's project, always in a detached, analytical way. "I never talked about this happening to us," he told the historian Art Hansen in 1988. Instead, he said, he looked at it as, "It happened to them."

PETE O'CROTTY/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Tule Lake Relocation Center at the northern edge of California.

The study "gave him a sense of purpose," Hansen said in a phone interview. "He played a salvation sort of role for not only his community, but generally for American history."

The Sakoda siblings were later moved to the Tule Lake Relocation Center, near California's northern border, where James taught psychology to detainees and met his future wife, Hatsuye Kurose, who was known as Hattie — the "smartest girl in my class," as he called her in a letter to Thomas.

James and Hattie then spent two years at the Minidoka camp in Idaho, where they married before returning to Berkeley shortly before the camp was closed in 1945.

Sakoda was working toward a Ph.D. in psychology at Berkeley when a fellowship took him to Harvard. It was there that he developed his checkerboard model, examining the interactions among various groups at the internment camps: the "clannish" Nisei; children of Japanese immigrants; more reclusive detainees; and camp administrators.

After earning his doctorate from Berkeley in 1949, he briefly taught at Brooklyn College, then joined the psychology faculty at the University of Connecticut. There he developed an interest in the potential of computing in studying human behavior.

In the summer of 1956, Sakoda learned to program on early IBM punch-card computers at M.I.T. Then, with his wife and their son, Bill, he moved to Providence, R.I., hired by Brown University, where he became the director of a social science computer laboratory.

At a time when the study of human behavior was largely isolated from computing, Sakoda pushed for better tools with which to merge the two; the checkerboard model, which he taught to students over the next three decades, was just one of them.

In 1963, he was invited to a summer institute at the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, Calif., to trade ideas about modeling cognitive processes using computers. While there, he began developing his own computing toolbox for social scientists, calling it DYSTAL. A 1971 paper, "The Checkerboard Model of Social Interaction," modernized his 1949 model through computer-run simulations.

After retiring from Brown in 1981, Sakoda told Hansen, "I think the best thing I've done is the social interaction model, which solved the problem in social psychology of going from the individual level to the group level."

But in the 1990s and 2000s, as agent-based modeling became fundamental to studying infectious diseases and the movements of humans on a large scale, a different origin story emerged.

Thomas Schelling, a well-connected Harvard economist and White House adviser, was on a plane bound for Boston when he started noodling with Xs and Os moving along a line. It would eventually become a checkerboard model strikingly similar to Sakoda's. Schelling mentioned it in a 1969 RAND research report and expanded it into an article in 1971, shortly after Sakoda had published his, in the same journal.

ONLINE: OVERLOOKED

Overlooked is a series of obituaries about remarkable people whose deaths, beginning in 1851, went unreported in The Times.

nytimes.com/overlooked

Decades later, it was Schelling's article that became widely credited as the first in which the checkerboard model appeared.

It is possible that Schelling encountered the seed of the idea at RAND — he completed a residency there a year after Sakoda visited. But when asked in a 2001 interview if the checkerboard model devised by Sakoda had influenced him, Schelling replied, "I have never heard of him."

In 2005, Schelling was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics, with Robert J. Aumann, for "having enhanced our understanding of conflict and cooperation through game-theory analysis." In a biographical statement accompanying the prize, Schelling wrote of the checkerboard model, "Without knowing it I was pioneering a field of study that later became known as 'agent-based computational modeling.'"

In his later years, in Barrington, R.I., Sakoda focused on gardening, his family and a longstanding mathematical side interest: origami. His book "Modern Origami," published in 1969 and still in print, showcases his own designs and made him notable among enthusiasts. (He decorated his computer laboratory at Brown with his origami.)

His nephew Jim Kurose said in an interview that at family gatherings Sakoda "would usually go sit by himself quietly in the living room and take out his paper, and he'd start folding, and he would just keep kids absolutely entranced."

He died on June 12, 2005. He was 89.

Sakoda's agent-based modeling innovations are being rediscovered thanks to the research of Rainer Hegselmann, a philosopher and social scientist at the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management in Germany. In a 2017 article in the Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation, Hegselmann speculated that the timing of Sakoda's retirement, in 1981, before the personal computer became ubiquitous, may have led to the erasure of his achievement.

"Maybe that life punishes those that are late," he wrote. "But sometimes it punishes those that are early as well."

Sakoda, however, was "not much concerned with getting explicit credit for what he did," his son, Bill, a computer scientist, said in an interview.

Instead, he added in an email, "He worked magic for a lot of people very quietly."

In Memoriam: Celebrate a Life

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Deaths

ASPEGREN—John B., Jr., of New York died at age 88 on Thursday, May 11, 2023 at Lenox Hill Hospital. Son of John Bacon Aspegren and Lois Barstow Aspegren, he was a world traveler and an accomplished tennis player in New York and Southampton, Long Island. A kind, generous man and loyal friend who will be sorely missed. He is survived by George William Rabbe Jr. of Washington, DC and Charlotte Barstow Rabbe of Los Angeles, CA, as well as a sister, Theodora Aspegren Bailey. Services are to be private.

EFFRAT—Carol L. After a lifetime of dedicated service to the Jewish community, Carol passed away surrounded by loving friends and family on Friday, May 12, following a courageous battle with AML.

Deaths

SCHULMAN—Toni.

Toni Schulman (Antonia nee Scheckner) forever New York City and East Hampton resident, completed her lifetime at her Central Park West home, May 10, 2023 at age 92. Toni, Artist, collector, autodidactic, strong, elegant and generous woman, is beloved for her originality, grace and family. Toni's iconic beauty was renowned and apparent even as she took her last breaths. With her natural curatorial abilities,Toni's life was filled with art, animals and love. An unrivaled Matriarch of a loving family, Toni will live forever through her children, Robert, Barbara and Ami Schulman; grandchildren Ariel, Nev and Laura Schulman, Fiona, Camille, Caleb, Kyra, Dillon and Samantha Breslin; great-grandchildren Cleo, Beau and Cy Schulman. Toni S. Schulman was predeceased by her parents Herman and Helen Scheckner and her beloved dog, Tootsie.

Deaths

Aspegren, John
Effrat, Carol
Schulman, Toni

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS: Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

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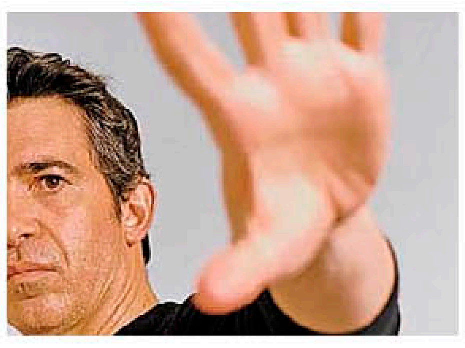
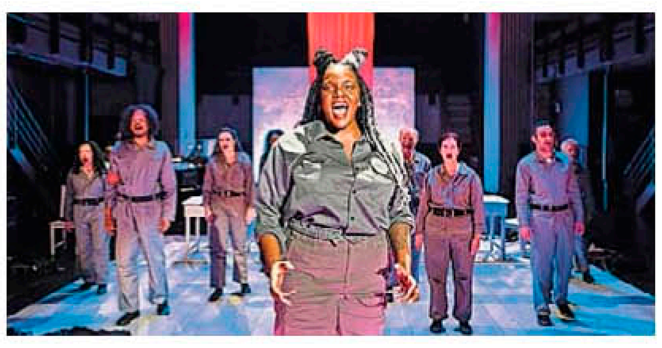
3 THEATER

'Brokeback' makes it to the stage. BY DOUGLAS GREENWOOD

5 FILM

An actor with the wind at his back. BY CALUM MARSH





6 THEATER

Singing of revolution in a musical set in a Russian cabaret.

BY ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

MATTEO DE MAYDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lesley Lokko, the first curator from Africa to lead the Venice Architecture Biennale, is the founder of the African Futures Institute, an architecture school in Accra, Ghana.

A New View On Race, Space And Architecture

Lesley Lokko sets the stage for Africa at the Venice Biennale.

By PATRICIA LEIGH BROWN

For most of her life, the Ghanaian Scottish architect and educator Lesley Lokko, curator of the forthcoming Venice Architecture Biennale, has moved between worlds. She grew up in both Accra, the capital, with its two seasons and hot steady climate, and cool coastal Dundee. "Scotland was shiver," she recalled. "Ghana was sweat."

Her ability to inhabit and interpret multiple worlds is a talent that Lokko, 59, the Architecture Biennale's first curator of African descent, is bringing to "The Laboratory of the Future," an ambitious exploration of Africa's impact on the globe — and vice versa. More than half the Biennale's 89 participants are from Africa or the African diaspora — many of them "shape-shifters," as Lokko calls them, whose work transcends traditional definitions of architecture as well as geography.

Among the Venetian who's who is the Pritzker Prize winner Diebedo Francis Kere (Burkina Faso and Berlin); Sumayya Vally and Moad Musbahi (Johannesburg, London, Tripoli, New York); Cave_Bureau (Nairobi), a firm that has 3-D mapped Shimoni slave caves on the Kenyan coast; the Brooklyn-based Nigerian visual artist Olalekan Jeyifous; and the noted British Ghanaian architect David Adjaye (Accra, London and New York), a close friend and collaborator best known in the United States for the Smithsonian National Mu-

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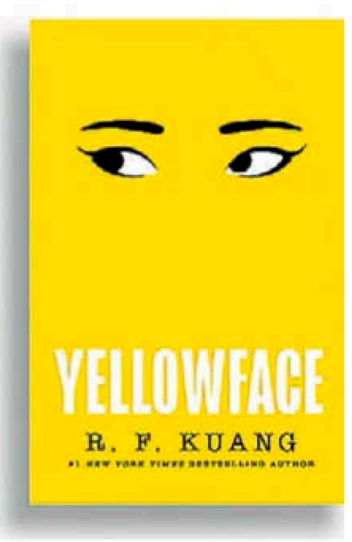
Biting the World That Feeds Her

R.F. Kuang's book skewers token diversity in the publishing industry.



By ALEXANDRA ALTER

Everything about R.F. Kuang's novel "Yellowface" feels engineered to make readers uncomfortable. There's the title, which is awkward to say out loud, and the cover, which features a garish racial stereotype — cartoonish slanted eyes imposed on a block of yellow.

Then there's the story itself. In the opening chapters, a white author steals a manuscript from the home of a Chinese American novelist who has died in a bizarre accident, and plots to pass it off as her own. What follows is a twisty thriller and a scorching indictment of the publishing industry's pervasive whiteness and racial blind spots.

If people in the literary world bristle at Kuang's withering depiction of the book business — or cringe in recognition — well, that's exactly the point, she said.

"Reading about racism should not be a feel-good experience," she said. "I do want

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Years Later, 'Seinfeld' Resonates

NBC

Foreground, from left, Jerry Seinfeld, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Jason Alexander and Michael Richards in the polarizing series finale of "Seinfeld," which aired on NBC on May 14, 1998.

In an era of shifting priorities, the show about nothing still actually offers something.

By MAYA SALAM

EARLY IN THE PANDEMIC, I developed a strange habit. Every night, I'd slip my phone under my pillow and listen to an episode (or six) of "Seinfeld" through a few inches of poly-fill stuffing. Though for anyone who knows me, that inclination probably tracks.

I started watching "Seinfeld" when it debuted on NBC in 1989 and never stopped, watching and rewatching every episode relentlessly on various platforms, reading the scripts in my free time and annoyingly inserting quotes into conversation at every chance. (Apologies to all.)

When the show concluded 25 years ago on Sunday, just days before I graduated from high school, I and my fellow young "Seinfeld" aficionados gathered in front of the TV to say goodbye to Jerry, Elaine,

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

VIA KÉRÉ ARCHITECTURE; PHOTO BY NATANIEL SAWADOGO

JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SANDRA STEINBRECHER

The Architecture Biennale's who's who includes Diébédo Francis Kéré, shown in the Gando Library in Burkina Faso, designed with sunlight coming through ceiling skylights made from clay pots, in 2011; top right, David Adjaye collaborated on the African Futures Institute with Lesley Lokko; above right, Toni L. Griffin, a New York-based planner and urban designer and Biennale participant, said, "Lesley is able to set the stage for others."

New View on Race, Space and Architecture

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

seum of African American History and Culture in Washington.

"It is an opportunity to talk to the rest of the world about Africa, and also to talk to Africa from here," Lokko said in a series of email and video interviews from Venice, keeping the details under wraps until the press opening on Thursday. Sub-Saharan Africa is often regarded as the most rapidly urbanizing and youthful population on the planet, she points out, with most people speaking more than one language. "The ability to be several things at once — traditional and modern, African and global, colonized and independent — is a strong thread running through the continent and the diaspora," she said. "We're used to having to think about resources, about switching on a light with no guarantee of electricity. We're able to grapple with change. That capacity to overcome, to negotiate, to navigate one's surroundings is going to take center stage."

A Shape-Shifter Herself

Lokko has long been immersed in issues of race, space and architecture — the subject of a pathbreaking book she wrote and edited while still a graduate student at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London, from which she earned a Ph.D. This year, King Charles III named Lokko an officer of the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) for services to architecture and education. In 2015, she founded an influential graduate school of architecture at the University of Johannesburg. A mere four months before the. Biennale came calling, she opened the African Futures Institute in Accra, a postgraduate Pan-African think tank with public programs and an international reach that seeks to fill in sorely needed gaps in existing architectural education.

Those considered minorities in the West are actually the global majority, she observes. "When you are African, you speak to a world that has an existing view of who and what you are," she said. "You walk with this kind of label. So for me, the Biennale was an opportunity to both talk about the label, to confront it in a way, but to also show underneath how similar we are."

Although the Biennale is hardly the first major exhibition to focus on Black and diasporic practitioners, the cascading crises of climate change, rapid urbanization, migration, global health emergencies and a deep imperative to decolonize institutions and spaces — starting with the historically Eurocentric Biennale itself — arguably make Lokko's focus on hybrid forms of practice timely, be it planners as policy experts or artist-environmentalists.

Among those featured at the Architecture Biennale, from top, Sumayya Vally, Olalekan Jeyifous and Moad Musbahi.

Walter Hood, a landscape designer and artist in Oakland, Calif., will offer an installation at the Biennale titled "Native(s)" with his design for a set of public buildings for a South Carolina Gullah community, inspired by a locally native landscape in which the community conserves sweetgrass for basket making.

The ability to make do and creatively improvise with existing resources can also offer a template for a sustainable future. "She has been saying for a while that it's 'our time,'" Akosua Obeng Mensah, an architect practicing in Accra, said of Lokko, noting that roughly 80 percent of development in sub-Saharan Africa has yet to be built.

Anonymous International-style skyscrapers still dominate many African cities. "A certain generation of architects have seen 'the other' — Europe or America — as the model to aspire to, and unscrambling that to interpret your own modernity is very hard," said Adjaye, who expanded his practice in Ghana and has collaborated on the African Futures Institute. "In spotting Lesley," he added, "what the Biennale is getting is a real on-the-pulse desire of the continent to reimagine itself."

Lokko's father, Dr. Ferdinand Gordon Lokko, was a Ghanaian surgeon who was sent by the government to study medicine in Scotland shortly after Ghana's independence from Britain in 1957. Like many Ghanaian men sent abroad, he returned with a white wife. (Lokko's parents divorced when she was young.) Her father's mother had no schooling. "I often think about the distance my father traveled — not just literally but culturally and emotionally," she said.

Mixed-race children in Ghana were known as half-castes and Lokko recalls looking in the mirror wondering: "Where is the line? Is it down the middle?" she said.

She always thought of herself as half Ghanaian, half Scottish until she arrived in England at age 17 to attend boarding school. "I was suddenly Black, and I understood very quickly that in the U.K. Black was its own identity," she said. "It seemed to subsume all the cultural nuances I grew up with."

She went to Oxford, but left to follow a boyfriend to the United States. As a girl, she sought solace as her parents' marriage dissolved by poring over kitchen magazines; in Los Angeles, where she spent four years, a chance visit with an employer to a tabletop store led to a eureka moment in which he suggested that she pursue architecture.

Building has never been her forte — "I can't even change a light bulb," she jokes — and she went from being a student at Bartlett to teaching there practically overnight. By the late 1990s, however, she felt increasingly stymied that the issues she cared about were not widely shared. "I've always thought of 'race' as a powerfully creative category of exploration and expression," she said. "I was fed up trying to find a way to talk about identity, race and Africa in architecture that wasn't only about poverty and 'informality,' a word I loathe," a reference to slums.

So in a plot twist worthy of Jackie Collins, the British romance novelist whose books she devoured, Lokko stepped away from architecture for 14 years to write fiction — after reading a Time Out guide to writing a best seller. Her novels — 12 and counting — blend female-centered stories of passion and romance with questions of racial and cultural identity — "heavy messages in the froth," as one reviewer put it. The latest is "Soul Sisters," a burn-the-midnight-oil cross-cultural tale set largely in Edinburgh and Johannesburg.

She returned to teaching at the University of Johannesburg in 2014, where she noticed that there were no Black architecture students. Student protests over fees, unjust educational disparities and calls for decolonization were rocking campuses across South Africa. There was "a hunger for change," Lokko recalled, and it seemed possible to attract a new generation of builders focused on issues like spatial apartheid — the deliberately designed racially segregated settlements forged under white South African state control.

Lokko's fleeting gig as dean of the City University of New York's Bernard and Anne Spitzer School of Architecture, from which she resigned in 2020 after less than a year, made headlines in the architecture world. "It was a bad fit on both sides," she said, in which her management style — "not formal enough, not cautious enough, not political enough" — didn't work, complicated by the lockdown. "The history of race, labor and gender in the United States is complex and far from resolved," she added. ("I think it's fair to say I'm quite polarizing.") She was also reeling from a personal tragedy: Months before her arrival, her sister, 52, died from a stroke and seven weeks later, her brother, 50, had a fatal heart attack. "It was the worst year of my life," she said.

New York's loss was Accra's gain: With $2.5 million from the Ford and Mellon foundations, Lokko returned home to pursue a long-held dream to create an institute that would produce what Adjaye, a patron, calls "the whole gamut — planners, policy thinkers, inventors of materials and systems and a body of intellectuals who really understand the built environment and what this means for future possibilities of the continent." (The Institute has plans to establish a second location at Seme City in Benin that would allow it to straddle the region's Francophone and Anglophone cultures.)

But the Biennale remains a "very exclusive European event for western audiences," noted Livingstone Mukasa, a Ugandan architect and researcher in upstate New York and co-editor of the seven-volume "Architectural Guide: Sub-Saharan Africa." "The question is whether this seasonal curiosity is the right platform to try to make seismic shifts"

In a sense, the Biennale is the African Futures Institute writ large: The Venetian extravaganza even includes a monthlong, first-ever Biennale College Architettura, in which career practitioners and students will work on design projects with high-profile masters. "She is using the Biennale as a platform to extend the work she has been doing for decades," said Toni L. Griffin, a New York-based planner and urban designer whose outdoor installation will be featured in Venice. In graduate school, Griffin never had a professor of color and women were few. "Lesley is able to set the stage for others," she said, "and expose the network that for some of us has always been there."

Jeremy Strong to Star In 'Enemy of the People'

By MICHAEL PAULSON

"Succession" is ending. So what's next for Jeremy Strong? He's returning to Broadway.

Strong, whose celebrity has skyrocketed with his portrayal of the scheming Kendall Roy in HBO's "Succession," will star next year in a Broadway revival of the classic play "An Enemy of the People." Strong will portray the title character, Dr. Thomas Stockmann, a physician who becomes a pariah when he decides to reveal that the water in local spa baths is contaminated.

The play was written in 1882 by Henrik Ibsen and has been staged on Broadway 10 times, most recently in 2012. There have been other New York productions, too; a socially distanced one-woman version of the show was staged at the Park Avenue Armory in 2021, while the coronavirus pandemic was raging.

This new production will feature a script rewritten by the playwright Amy Herzog, who is no stranger to reimagining Ibsen: Her revised version of Ibsen's "A Doll's House" is now on Broadway, with Jessica Chastain in the starring role.

Strong, who won an Emmy award for his work on "Succession," previously appeared on Broadway in a 2008 revival of "A Man for All Seasons." He has also appeared in several Off Broadway productions.

The "Enemy of the People" revival will be directed by Herzog's husband, Sam Gold, who won a Tony Award for directing the musical "Fun Home," and whose more recent Broadway ventures have been polarizing productions of Shakespeare's "King Lear" and "Macbeth."

"An Enemy of the People" is scheduled to run for 16 weeks in early 2024; an announcement on Friday did not specify the exact dates or the theater, and did not reveal any further casting.

The producers are Seaview (Greg Nobile and Jana Shea) and Patrick Catullo, who previously collaborated on Mike Birbiglia's one-man show "The Old Man & the Pool."

An Artistic Director Embraces Risk

New York Theater Workshop announces 2023-24 lineup.

By JULIA JACOBS

For New York Theater Workshop's first season programmed after the departure of its longtime artistic director, the Off Broadway fixture plans to produce an intergenerational saga centered on a Black family in Illinois, a lesbian farce set on a naval base, a story about a mysterious album of Nazi-era photographs, and a play with an unusual star: a Microsoft text-to-speech tool.

The slate of shows, just announced, has been curated by Patricia McGregor, who replaced James C. Nicola as artistic director last year. The organization has a track record of producing influential work, including its biggest hit, "Rent," as well as celebrated productions such as "Hadestown," "Once," "Slave Play" and "What the Constitution Means to Me."

The 2023-24 season includes three world premieres and one work that debuted last year, favoring fresh over recognizable work. (The most recent season featured the Broadway-bound "Merrily We Roll Along," starring Daniel Radcliffe, Jonathan Groff and Lindsay Mendez.) McGregor said that while there is certainly a place for those kinds of entrenched works at New York Theater Workshop, her inaugural season is focused on embracing risk and supporting artists whose work could be lost if the theater world becomes overly focused on name recognition, trusted forms and trying to ensure commercial success.

RICH SOUBLET II

Elizabeth Stahlmann in the play "Here There Are Blueberries."

"We're more of a laboratory than a factory," McGregor said. "Part of what the workshop wants to be is a testing ground."

This fall, McGregor will direct "The Refuge Plays" by Nathan Alan Davis, whose play "Nat Turner in Jerusalem" was staged at New York Theater Workshop in 2016. Produced with and staged at Roundabout Theater Company, the work is about four generations of a Black family who live in a home that they built themselves in a forest. An earlier version of the production was scheduled to start rehearsing in 2020 but was delayed by the pandemic.

Later in the year, the theater workshop will stage "Merry Me," a new work by the South Korean playwright and director Hansol Jung ("Wolf Play"). In "Merry Me," which will be directed by Leigh Silverman (who directed last year's voting-rights musical "Suffs"), a restless lieutenant seeks to pleasure other women on the base — including the general's wife — during a blackout.

"I Love You So Much I Could Die," slated for winter 2024 and directed by Lucas Hnath, employs a Microsoft text-to-speech product for the monologues, in between songs performed by the playwright, Mona Pirnot. (The Microsoft-fueled actor is funny and strange, McGregor said, but it also comes off as surprisingly human.)

Next spring, the company will produce Tectonic Theater Project's "Here There Are Blueberries," a play by Moisés Kaufman and Amanda Gronich about a collection of Nazi-era photographs that is delivered to the desk of an archivist at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, making the news and setting a German businessman out on a journey of discovery about his family.

Kaufman, who was behind "The Laramie Project," will also direct the play, which premiered at La Jolla Playhouse in California and is currently onstage at the Shakespeare Theater Company in Washington.

No Matter the Forum, The Tale Is a Tragedy

Onstage, 'Brokeback Mountain' serves to remind that homophobia is not over.

By DOUGLAS GREENWOOD

LONDON — In 2016, when the theater director Jonathan Butterell was considering a proposal to adapt Annie Proulx's 1997 short story "Brokeback Mountain" for the stage, he wondered how to translate the prose's vast landscape and insular emotions into a play.

Last month, in a central London rehearsal studio, Butterell and Ashley Robinson, who wrote the play, tried to answer that question. To help the cast connect with Proulx's story of a cowboy and a ranch hand falling in love against the wide-stretching landscapes of 1960s Wyoming, black-and-white photographs of American plains and mountain ranges were tacked to the walls during rehearsals.

"The vastness has been there from the very beginning," Butterell said in a recent interview. When it came to evoking the story's emotional landscape, the director had stuck one sepia-toned photograph, of a lone cowboy in a snow-covered Wyoming, behind a pillar. The image "speaks to the bit of us that feels alone in the world," Butterell said. "Maybe he's at peace with this, maybe it's the source of his agony."

Butterell's "Brokeback Mountain" opened in previews May 10 at @sohoplace in London's West End. It's the first time the story has been adapted for theater — an opera by Charles Wuorinen premiered in Madrid in 2014 — and each version now follows in the footsteps of Proulx's text and the film that popularized it: Ang Lee's 2005 Academy Award-winning adaptation, which is often cited as one of the best L.G.B.T.Q. films of all time.

Butterell said he was aware of his audience having expectations based on the film. "They're inevitable," he said, "but I don't mind that."

This theatrical version also has some Hollywood clout. Its lead characters, Jack Twist and Ennis del Mar, are played by the BAFTA-nominated actor Mike Faist and the Oscar-nominated actor Lucas Hedges.

In late 2016, Robinson first wrote a treatment for what he called a "memory play" based on the short story, after speaking with the composer Dan Gillespie Sells and Butterell. Robinson's script stated that the Wyoming setting should not be conveyed "in a purely literal sense," and his story is set in 2013, with an older version of del Mar reflecting on the years he spent with Twist between 1963 and 1983.

Proulx approved of Robinson's vision. She had "high hopes for the play," she said in a recent email interview. "When I read Ashley's script several years ago, I thought he had done a fine job."

In Proulx's story, del Mar and Twist's interior worlds are conveyed by an omniscient narrator. In the stage adaptation, music does much of that work.

"These two men can't sing," Gillespie Sells said, because "they don't have an emotional dialogue." Instead, a character called the Balladeer — played by the Scottish singer-songwriter Eddi Reader — sings with an onstage country and western band. "She takes us through time," Butterell said. "Sometimes it's from night to day. Sometimes it's 10 years."

"Brokeback Mountain" will be the first time its two lead actors have appeared onstage in five years. Faist, who plays Twist, originated the role of Connor Murphy in "Dear Evan Hansen" on Broadway, and has had more recent success in film, including Steven Spielberg's 2021 remake of "West Side Story."

Hedges "hadn't acted in a while" when he was sent the script, he said, having been focusing on writing instead. The "Brokeback" offer and playing del Mar changed that. "There wasn't an angle I didn't love about this," he said.

As the project entered its final week of rehearsals, both actors were grappling with the process in different ways. Hedges said

> **'These stories aren't necessarily being told anymore.'**
> *ASHLEY ROBINSON*
> *PLAYWRIGHT, 'BROKEBACK MOUNTAIN'*

he was experiencing "tragic and triumphant ups and downs" about his own work. "I have a day where I think I've figured it all out, and then a day when it all disappears," he said. The "collective experience" of theater was daunting compared to working in film, he said, adding that onstage, "I can't use tricks to make it through."

Faist concurred: "It's a challenge, and it's terrifying," mainly because of the expectations of having to match the source material and 2005 film, he said. "But as terrifying and frustrating as it is, I really am having the time of my life," he added.

Butterell said that Faist and Hedges were "as men, as actors, very different creatures." Faist, he said, had "a sense of life and vivacity," while Hedges "has this deeply complex interior landscape that's very much of Ennis."

Neither Hedges, Faist nor Butterell had revisited Lee's film since they were approached for the project. "The truth of the matter is, no matter what, he's not Heath Ledger and I'm not Jake Gyllenhaal," Faist said of the film's two lead stars, who both earned Oscar nominations for their performances. He and Hedges, Faist added, would both bring their "own weird things" to the roles.

The production has forced Faist to confront his "traumas," he said. "We can take those traumas, turn them around," he added, and, he hopes, make the audience "think deeply about their own lives."

Following the success of the "Brokeback Mountain" film, Proulx said fans of her text sent her fan fiction that rewrote the ending of her short story, claiming the original was too sad. She told the The Paris Review that those fans had "misunderstood" the story and stated that it was, most important, about "homophobia."

SUZIE HOWELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mike Faist, left, and Lucas Hedges at Soho Place Theater, where they are starring in a theatrical adaptation of Annie Proulx's "Brokeback Mountain."

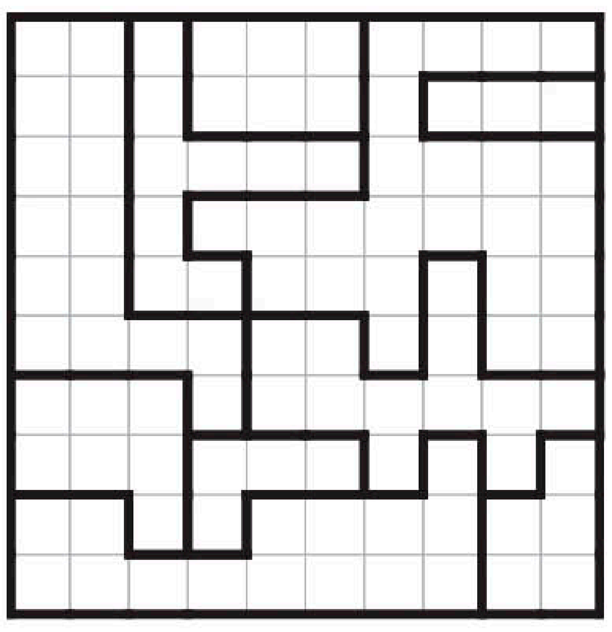
This is the first adaptation of "Brokeback" to be released since the Supreme Court made gay marriage legal in all 50 U.S. states. Robinson — who lives in Brooklyn but was raised in the tiny town of Lockhart, S.C. — said he wrote it to remind audiences that gay trauma still exists.

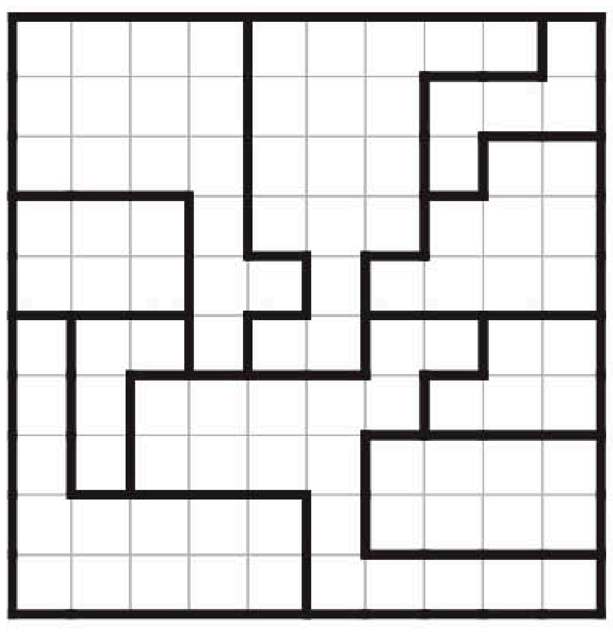
"These stories aren't necessarily being told anymore because of a trend to put onstage what we want the world to be," he said, referring to the theater community. "That's a wonderful thing to do, but we shouldn't cancel out all of the opportunities to talk about what's going on underneath it."

Butterell added that the fight against homophobia was "not over" in Britain either, citing a recent spike in the number of attacks on L.G.B.T.Q. people.

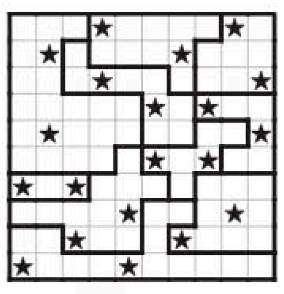
"This is a tragedy," Butterell said of the play. "Of course love exists — I don't want it to be solemn — but the tragedy of this piece is that fear wins."

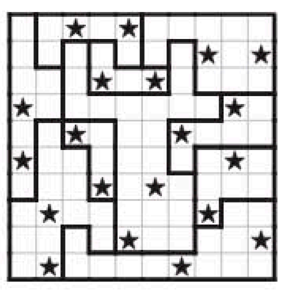
Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES





Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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Brain Tickler

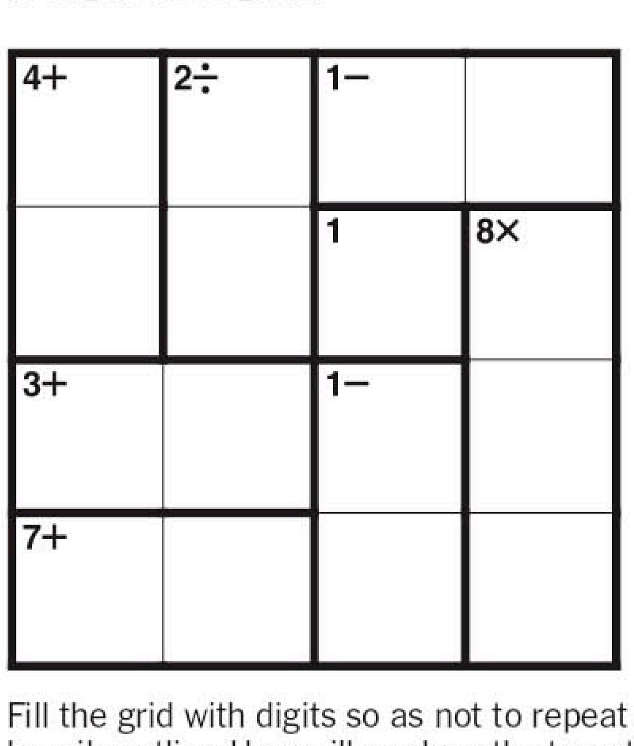
What popular sports do these six-letter words rhyme with?

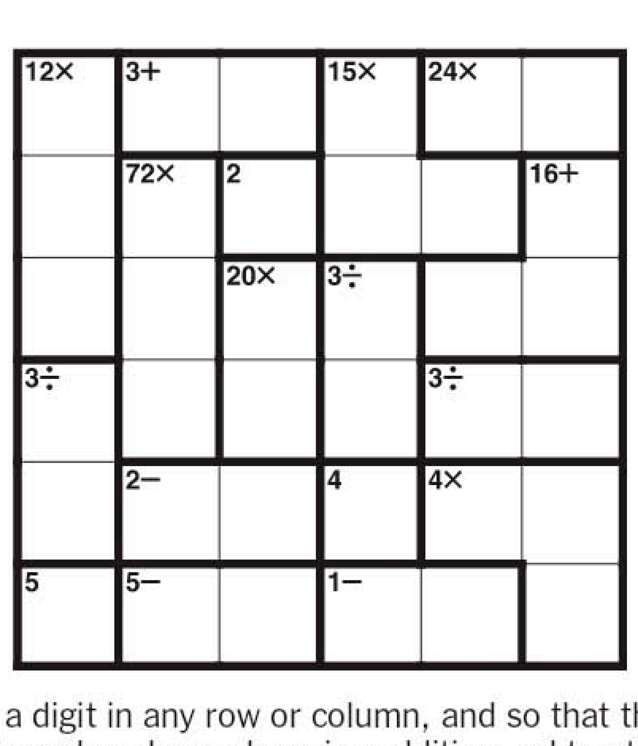
1. BOEING 2. LOCKER 3. PSEUDO 4. SEEING 5. SPLOSH 6. TICKET 7. VENICE

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER Caller, recall, cellar

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

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3	1	4	2
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5	6	4	1	2	3
1	5	3	6	4	2
3	1	5	2	6	4
4	2	1	3	5	6
6	4	2	5	3	1
2	3	6	4	1	5

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

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Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

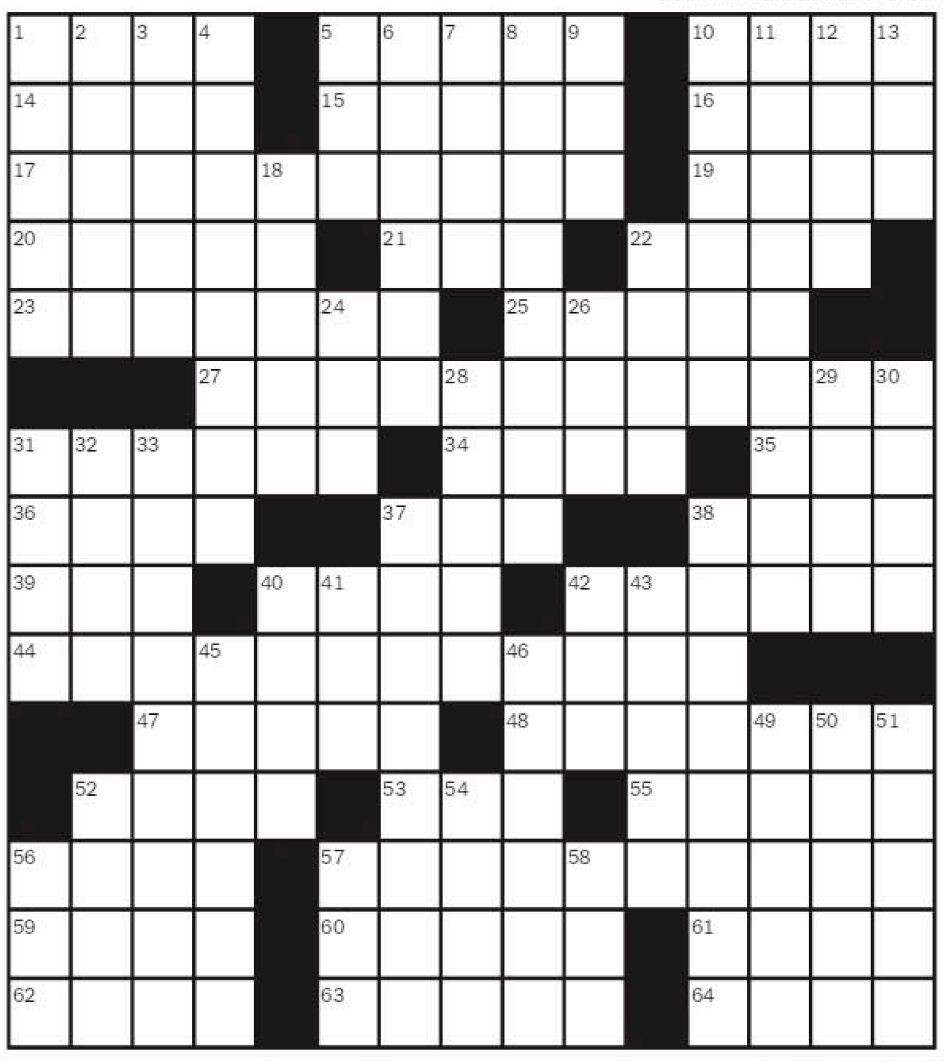
PUZZLE BY TOMAS SPIERS

ACROSS

1 Bovine animals that are raced in Tibet
5 Astronaut's realm
10 Sandwich often stuck with a toothpick
14 Name hiding in "named names"
15 Most abundant noble gas in the earth's atmosphere
16 Assistant
17 Earth or Tatooine
19 Frame of mind
20 German skin care brand
21 Angry
22 Sch. founded by Benjamin Franklin
23 Simple ballroom dance
25 Exhibitions
27 N.B.A. or W.N.B.A.
31 Fiery felonies
34 Some snakelike fish
35 Communication syst. in the deaf community
36 ___ Kong
37 Bonsai tree holder
38 Inedible part of most fruit
39 Second letter after epsilon
40 CAT ___ (M.R.I. alternative)
42 California basketball team originally located in Minnesota
44 Heineken or Pabst
47 Sort of, informally
48 Get a move on, slangily
52 Questionable
53 "___ no more!"
55 Big muscle for Popeye after he eats spinach
56 Place for an urban garden, maybe
57 Ballerina or Rockette
59 Great Plains tribe
60 Playful semiaquatic animal
61 The "E" of HOMES
62 Road safety grp.
63 Like some breakups and dorm rooms
64 Rational

DOWN

1 Like questions in 20 Questions
2 Online community moderator, for short
3 Scoundrel
4 Book for recording purchases
5 Tool with teeth
6 Right on time
7 Taj Mahal locale
8 Second thoughts, metaphorically
9 Conclusion
10 Picture snapper
11 Movie studio behind "The Hunger Games"
12 Thick Japanese noodle
13 Mattress's place
18 "Per se" and "quid pro quo" language
22 Desserts that may be served à la mode
24 U.F.O. pilots
26 "___ aboard!"
28 Sierra ___ (African country)
29 App customer
30 Majestic trees
31 [Um … I'm standing right here]
32 Flatbread made with atta flour
33 Crackers, chips and other between-meal bites
37 Organism that lives off another
38 Urban photography subjects
40 Japanese tech giant
41 Kind of oil derived from marijuana, for short
42 Meadow
43 The "A" of the ABC Islands
45 Improvised, musically
46 "But of course!"
49 Ghana's capital
50 Welcome at the door
51 All-out shopping trip
52 Minuscule amount
54 Picnic nuisances
56 ___-com ("When Harry Met Sally …," e.g.)
57 Male cat
58 Hang on a clothesline, perhaps



5/15/23

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

C	R	I	M	P		N	S	F	W		I	D	I	G
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I	M	P	R	I	S	O	N	E	D		P	L	O	P
P	O	L	E	D	A	N	C	E		B	A	T	T	Y
S	U	I		E	T	S			S	O	L	A	C	E
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H	E	A	D	D	E	S	K		S	O	L	E	S	
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M	I	F	F	S		P	L	A	Y	E	R	O	N	E
L	E	A	F		D	R	O	P	S	A	H	I	N	T
A	C	R	E		V	A	S	E		T	E	N	E	T
B	E	E	R		D	Y	E	D		H	A	S	T	Y

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This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY TAYLOR ROBINSON AND KRISTEN BAYRAKDARIAN

Monday

STREET OUTLAWS: LOCALS ONLY *8 p.m. on Discovery.* This new series follows the street-racing duo Farmtruck and AZN, previously introduced in "Street Outlaws: OKC," as they journey across the United States in search of the speediest street racers. The chance to race against a veteran Street Outlaw driver (and a $5,000 prize) awaits the racers in an elimination process that spans 10 episodes.

SUMMER BAKING CHAMPIONSHIP *9 p.m. on Food Network.* Just in time for barbecue season, this new whimsical cooking competition show hosted by Jesse Palmer asks contestants to bring their best warm-weather recipes to the table. For a $25,000 cash prize, 10 chefs will compete in a series of challenges.

WILL NAVARRO/ANGEL CITY FOOTBALL CLUB, VIA HBO

Angel City Football Club.

Tuesday

ANGEL CITY *9 p.m. on HBO.* This new docuseries explores the infancy and rise of Angel City Football Club, the Los Angeles-based, female-founded soccer team whose early investors include Serena Williams and the World Cup winners Mia Hamm and Abby Wambach.

Wednesday

GRAN TORINO (2008) *11 p.m. on AMC.* Clint Eastwood's "vitality as an artist shows no sign of waning," Manohla Dargis pronounced in her review for The New York Times. Set in Detroit, this film follows the unlikely friendship between Walt Kowalski (Eastwood), a bigoted retired factory worker who served in Vietnam and has just buried his wife, and Thao (Bee Vang), Walt's neighbor of Hmong descent.

SIFEDDINE ELAMINE/SHOWTIME

Amir Khoury, foreground, and Salim Benmoussa in the drama "Ghosts of Beirut."

Thursday

THE ONE *9 p.m. on TV One.* The Grammy Award-winning gospel singer Kirk Franklin and his wife, Tammy, host a new competition dating show that adds a soul-searching element to the matchmaking process. Two Atlanta singles will meet with eligible bachelors and bachelorettes in hopes of finally finding "the one" in a series of adventurous dates. The Franklins are there to provide advice along the whole way.

DOCTOR ZHIVAGO (1965) *9:45 p.m. on TCM.* This Oscar-winning historical romance, a dramatization of Boris Pasternak's 1957 classic but controversial novel of the same name, follows a decades-long, star-crossed affair set against the backdrop of the Russian Revolution. Bosley Crowther praised the director David Lean's mise-en-scène in his 1965 review for The Times, in scenes ranging from "a snow-filled Moscow street" to "a country cottage frosted with shimmering ice." Omar Sharif (above with Julie Christie) earned a Golden Globe for best actor for his performance as Doctor Zhivago.

Friday

BELLE COLLECTIVE *8 p.m. on OWN.* In the third season of this reality series, six glamorous businesswomen in Jackson, Miss., grapple with issues in their personal and professional lives as they're tasked with redefining what it means to be Black, female and successful.

GREAT PERFORMANCES: RICHARD III *9 p.m. on PBS.* Recorded at the outdoor Delacorte Theater in Manhattan during a 2022 Shakespeare in the Park performance, the Public Theater's rendition of this Shakespearean tragedy is now available for all to watch. The play's verse is "extraordinarily pungent and the questions obviously eternal," Jesse Green described in his review for The Times, lauding the "Black Panther" star Danai Gurira's portrayal of the ruthless titular character as "unflaggingly energetic" and "vocally thrilling."

THE SECRETS OF HILLSONG *10 p.m. on FX.* This four-part investigative docuseries recalls the rise and fall of Hillsong, the megachurch that counted actors, athletes and musicians on its roster before it became embroiled in a sex-abuse scandal. Though not the first documentary to tackle Hillsong's fall from grace, this series will feature interviews with the former pastors Laura and Carl Lentz, speaking for the first time since their public expulsion from the church.

Saturday

LOVE TO LOVE YOU, DONNA SUMMER *8 p.m. on HBO.* This love letter to the life and legacy of the Grammy Award-winning singer Donna Summer is directed by Brooklyn Sudano, Summer's daughter, and the Academy Award-winning filmmaker Roger Ross Williams. Through the recollections of those closest to Summer, photographs and home video footage (much shot by Summer herself), the film follows the artist from her career beginnings as a musical theater vocalist to her rise as the "Queen of Disco."

Sunday

GHOSTS OF BEIRUT *10 p.m. on Showtime.* From the creators of the Israeli espionage thriller series "Fauda," this four-part spy drama is based on the decades-long global manhunt for Imad Mughniyeh, a Lebanese military commander who is believed to be the mastermind behind a string of high-profile terrorist attacks in the 1980s and '90s.

Dates, details and times are subject to change.

JOE SINNOTT

Danai Gurira is ruthless in "Great Performances: Richard III."

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

'Seinfeld,' the Show About Nothing, Still Offers Something

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

George, Kramer and the many indelible side characters, like Yev Kassem ("The Soup Nazi") and Marla Penny ("The Virgin"), who denounced them in a courtroom in the show's polarizing finale. It was technically the end of an era, but for me, it was only the beginning of what would go on to inform every phase of my life.

As it turns out, my strange pillow habit did more than amuse and calm me while I lay sleepless during a profoundly stressful time. In those hours, I started to think about the show differently. Why, as the fabric of society seemed to be fraying, did it seem so prescient? Why did it seem as if the four friends — who gleefully, proudly, deftly flouted societal conventions and the rules of traditional adulthood — had long ago tapped in to some fundamental truths that, because of the pandemic's disruptions, many were re-examining?

For the somehow uninitiated, "Seinfeld," created by Jerry Seinfeld and Larry David, stars Seinfeld as a fictionalized version of himself and follows his shenanigans with his three closest friends: his childhood buddy George Costanza (Jason Alexander); his former girlfriend turned pal, Elaine Benes (Julia Louis-Dreyfus); and his oddball neighbor, Kramer (Michael Richards). It is regarded as one of the greatest shows of all time.

It has consistently been framed as a comedy about four terrible people, with good reason. Jerry and his fellow misfits lied, cheated and stole. They were petty and shallow. They created a framework for "bad" sitcom characters that shows like "It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia" would embrace with great relish and success.

JOSEPH DEL VALLE/NBC, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Julia Louis-Dreyfus as Elaine Benes with John O'Hurley as her eccentric boss, J. Peterman.

But they also presented an irreverent version of adulthood that I had never seen on TV or in life: a playful yet sophisticated world where grown-ups joked and laughed together and didn't take themselves too seriously, even when everyone around them was being very serious indeed.

Most important, they openly mocked the notion that professional success, marriage and parenthood were the cornerstones of existence. For me, a serious child surrounded by serious adults — a child who was ostracized by those unable to categorize me, and who knew early that established paths to fulfillment would not apply — this revealed loads of possibilities.

"Seinfeld" questioned these constructs. In one episode, when Jerry and George are compelled to wonder whether they need to grow up, Jerry gets an explosive rebuke from Kramer: "What are you thinking about, Jerry? Marriage? Family? They're prisons! Man-made prisons! You're doing time." In another, when George bemoans an awkward office interaction, Jerry, self-satisfied, responds: "I've never had a job." (In a 1993 interview with Charlie Rose, Seinfeld said a benefit of being a comic was the ability to reject facets of ordinary life: "You just don't feel part of it, and that's a good thing.")

This refusenik sensibility is threaded through the entire series, and any attempt by the characters to sublimate themselves to social norms fizzled quickly and often in grand fashion. Particularly professionally, where opportunities and aspirations came and went: Kramer's outlandish business ventures; Elaine's fitful career in publishing; George's corporate self-sabotage; even Jerry's hope, in the show's most meta subplot, to parlay his stand-up career into a successful sitcom.

Some of the funniest scenarios specifically skewered the absurdities of office jobs. In one episode, Kramer is mistaken for an employee after using a company's bathroom and then keeps returning as if he works there. Wearing a suit and swinging a briefcase that contained nothing but crackers, he was a kid playing office; an impostor without impostor syndrome. Elaine's professional prospects were subject to the whims of unreasonable, eccentric bosses, but her identity was never defined by her career. Instead her jobs and superiors acted as foils for her personality to flourish.

But crucially, after each of their many failures, the characters largely ended up just as they were before: fine, unbothered, unscathed and rarely dejected for long. This certainly had a precedent rooted in reality: When Terry Gross asked David in 1992 if the show's early low ratings were demoralizing, he responded, "If the show got canceled, it didn't make a difference to either one of us."

When it came to personal values, "Seinfeld" offered a biting departure from the family sitcoms that came before it, like "The Cosby Show" and "Growing Pains," which were based in the same accepted aspirations as the real world.

Other contemporary series focused on friendships — "Friends," "Living Single," "Will & Grace" — still predominantly followed a common trajectory, with career, relationship and family goals a driving force that often ramped up as the shows neared their ends. Instead of relying on the common late-season fallback of someone getting pregnant and having a baby, "Seinfeld" did the opposite, devoting story lines to diaphragms, the Today Sponge and condoms.

Despite the nihilism suggested by its "no hugging, no learning" motto (and by much of the characters' behavior), "Seinfeld" did exhibit a worldview and priorities that were refreshing and, for me, far more aspirational and inspirational. Not despite the fact that these were flawed people uninterested in perfection, but because of it. Even with their abundant neuroses, they lived in the present, sought fun and were loyal to the tightknit, pretense-free friendships at the show's heart, the kind where your people know your bad parts and love you anyway.

Today — as cracks in the facade of hustle culture continue to spread; as a growing library of books and articles promote the value of rest and fun; as more people delay or forgo marriage or children — real life seems to be catching up with "Seinfeld." Even from a less rosy perspective, with the realization that long-held images of adulthood may not be as attainable as before, the show has taken on a fresh relatability, offering new reasons for a little self-deprecating humor.

At the end of the series finale, which was watched by a now unimaginable audience of 76 million people, the gang winds up in jail after that trial in which a parade of character witnesses, many of them wronged by the defendants over nine seasons, attest to their unethical behavior. (For the record, I struggled with the episode — like I do with many sitcom finales — for veering too far from the show's distinct vibe, the primary source of my affection.)

But if you look at it from a different angle and put some of the silliness aside, you might glean a metaphor about those who don't stick to the script, choosing instead to shamelessly indulge themselves in a culture that rarely appreciates indulgence without guilt. Theirs was a cell for people who declined to opt in, but at least they had one another.

In a way, my thinking this deeply about it might run antithetical to the spirit of "Seinfeld," famously known as a show about nothing. Well, OK. In that case, yada yada yada, it turned out to be about pretty much everything.

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

BROADWAY

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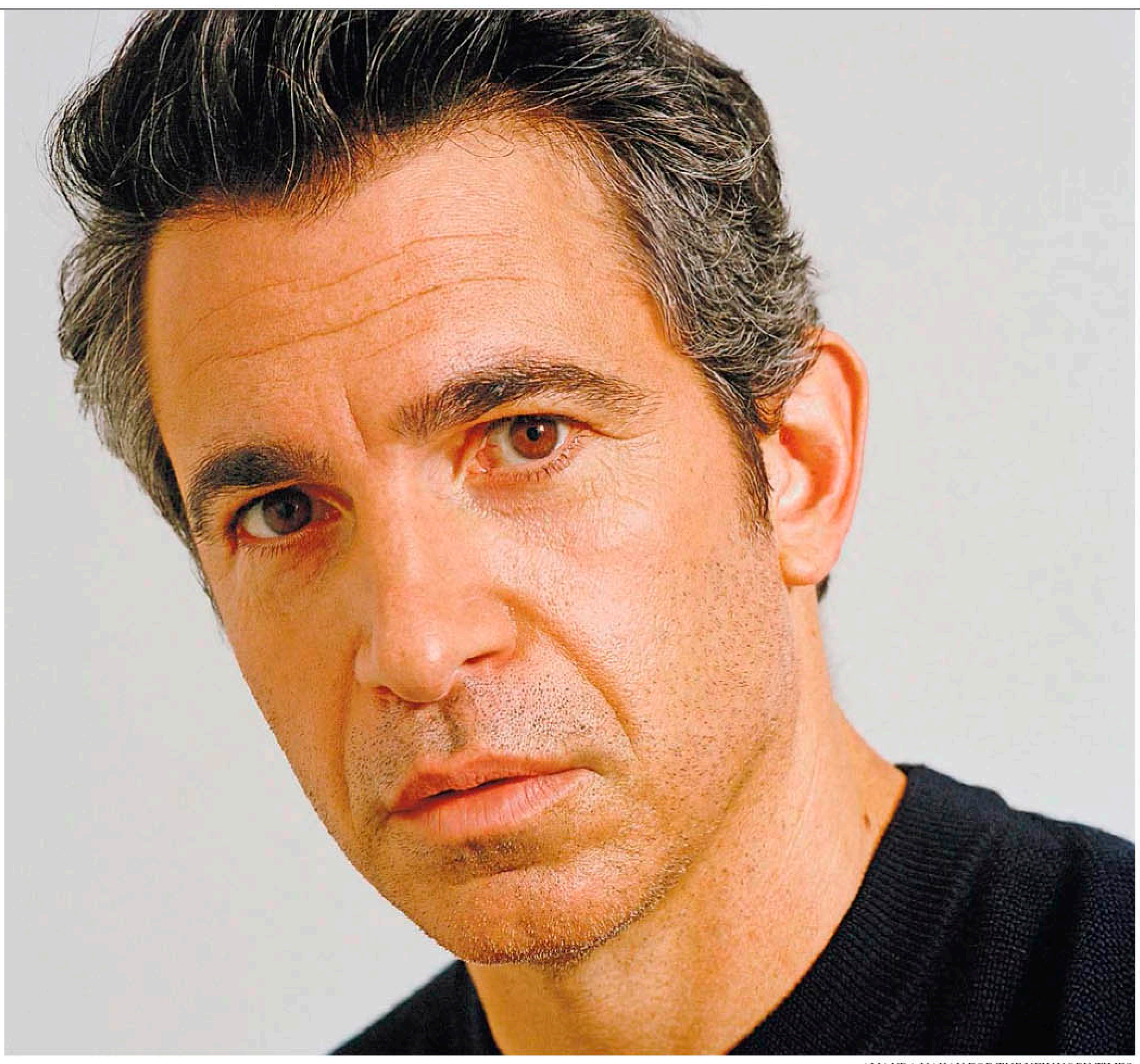
Friday's Response: WHAT ARE TATTOOS?
Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

Chris Messina Takes Flight

For an actor's actor, the kudos and the laughs keep coming.

By CALUM MARSH



AMANDA HAKAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chris Messina has a hard time admitting that he's funny.

Even after his hilarious turn as a silver-tongued sports agent in "Air" and six seasons as a drolly charming doctor on "The Mindy Project," he is surprisingly self-critical when it comes to his comic abilities.

"Comedy is so hard," he said in a recent video call from his home in Los Angeles, adding an expletive for emphasis. "It's hard to land a joke. So I still struggle with that. I'm best when I either don't know it's a comedy or don't play it as a comedy — then you might find me funny."

This is difficult to believe if you've seen "Air." As Michael Jordan's outrageous, surly representative David Falk in the story of the creation of the Air Jordan sneaker, Messina is uproarious, screaming and swearing his way through fever-pitch negotiations with voluble panache. In the most memorable exchange, Messina calls the Nike scout and marketer Sonny Vaccaro (Matt Damon) to lambaste him for secretly visiting the Jordan family. Messina goes utterly ballistic, hurtling around his office as he barks threats and insults involving various bits of bodily anatomy.

The Ringer described him as the film's "foul-mouthed" M.V.P.

"Phone calls are usually just a bore," Messina said thoughtfully, displaying an open and eager friendliness, pleased to be discussing the details of a craft he clearly loves. "There's no one on the other line — sometimes there's a script supervisor reading the lines off-camera."

But for "Air," the director Ben Affleck had the idea to shoot both sides of the conversation simultaneously. He set up Damon and Messina in offices down the hall from each other, and had two sets of cameras rolling at the same time. "It felt more alive," Messina said. "Matt and I could talk over each other, then we could improvise, then we could come together and say, 'How about we change this to this?' And then go back to our offices and keep going."

As Affleck said in a recent phone interview, "All of the great lines in that scene are Chris's improvisation." And those improvisations, he said, had a particularly strong impact on Damon. "Matt could not keep a straight face. I had to use Matt laughing because there wasn't a take of him playing it straight. He tried to play it straight, and he just couldn't."

Damon explained that "it was already really funny on the page." But when Messina came up with threats, "it dictated how I had to play the scene," Damon said. "I had to start ad-libbing. I started talking to the background artists next to me, going, 'It's David Falk on the phone, sorry,' and I just started laughing."

"Air" is Messina's third appearance in an Affleck-directed film, after the Oscar-winning drama "Argo" and the period crime tale "Live by Night." Affleck said: "I always look for work for Chris because he's always so good. Every time he's had the opportunity, he's always done more than I envisioned or imagined."

Though "Live by Night" was not a commercial success, Affleck said he was "particularly proud" of Messina's performance, for which he gained 40 pounds. "I said he could wear a body suit; he said no, it wouldn't be the same," Affleck said. "I can't say enough good things about him."

Damon echoed the sentiment, describing his co-star as an actor's actor, the kind "all the other actors always talk about: 'Did you see him in this? Or, he's in that, that'll be good.'"

Messina's career started on the stage. A "tried and true New York theater actor" from Long Island, as he put it, he plied his trade "mostly Off Broadway, and Off Off Broadway, and sometimes Off Off Off Broadway, in the Bronx and in Queens and on the Lower East Side." He speaks of those scrappy early days with a nostalgic air, reminiscing about plays "where the actors outnumbered the audience, or where, when it rained, it would leak on the stage," he said. In short, he loved it.

For a long time, Messina yearned to find glory the romantic way. "I really thought, stupidly, that Mike Nichols would discover me in a play and put me in 'The Graduate 2,' you know? I had read about Dustin Hoffman. But that never happened."

Instead, Messina transitioned to the screen. After a couple of small, forgettable parts in films like "Rounders" (with Damon) and "The Siege," he landed his breakout role, on the final season of the funeral-home drama "Six Feet Under," playing the amiable, strait-laced lawyer Ted Fairwell, the love interest of Lauren Ambrose's Claire. On the strength of his work on that HBO drama, he began landing high-profile films, including Sam Mendes's "Away We Go" and Woody Allen's "Vicky Cristina Barcelona," as well as recurring parts on the cable dramas "Damages" and "The Newsroom."

Most viewers, though, probably know Messina best for his work on "The Mindy Project," starring as the sometimes ill-tempered, sometimes charismatic Danny Castellano opposite the series creator, Mindy Kaling. When casting began in 2011, Kaling was specifically seeking actors she "hadn't seen do a lot of comedy" or, if they were experienced, "weren't the usual suspects they always send you," she said in a recent interview.

ANA CARBALLOSA/AMAZON STUDIOS

Chris Messina in "Air," the film about the creation of the Air Jordan sneaker.

She knew he was perfect straight away. Describing him as one of the most comical actors she's worked with, she said Messina was "so rooted in the truth of his character that he can't help but be funny."

She attributes that expressly to the fact that he is not a traditional comedian. "Your average sitcom actor wants to hit their moments, make the day and go home," she said. "Chris isn't like that. It's almost exhausting, the level of honesty and truth he brings to every scene. He was really listening to my character and reacting if the character did something funny or absurd. He made me a better actor. I was listening better when I was with Chris, because he set the bar so high."

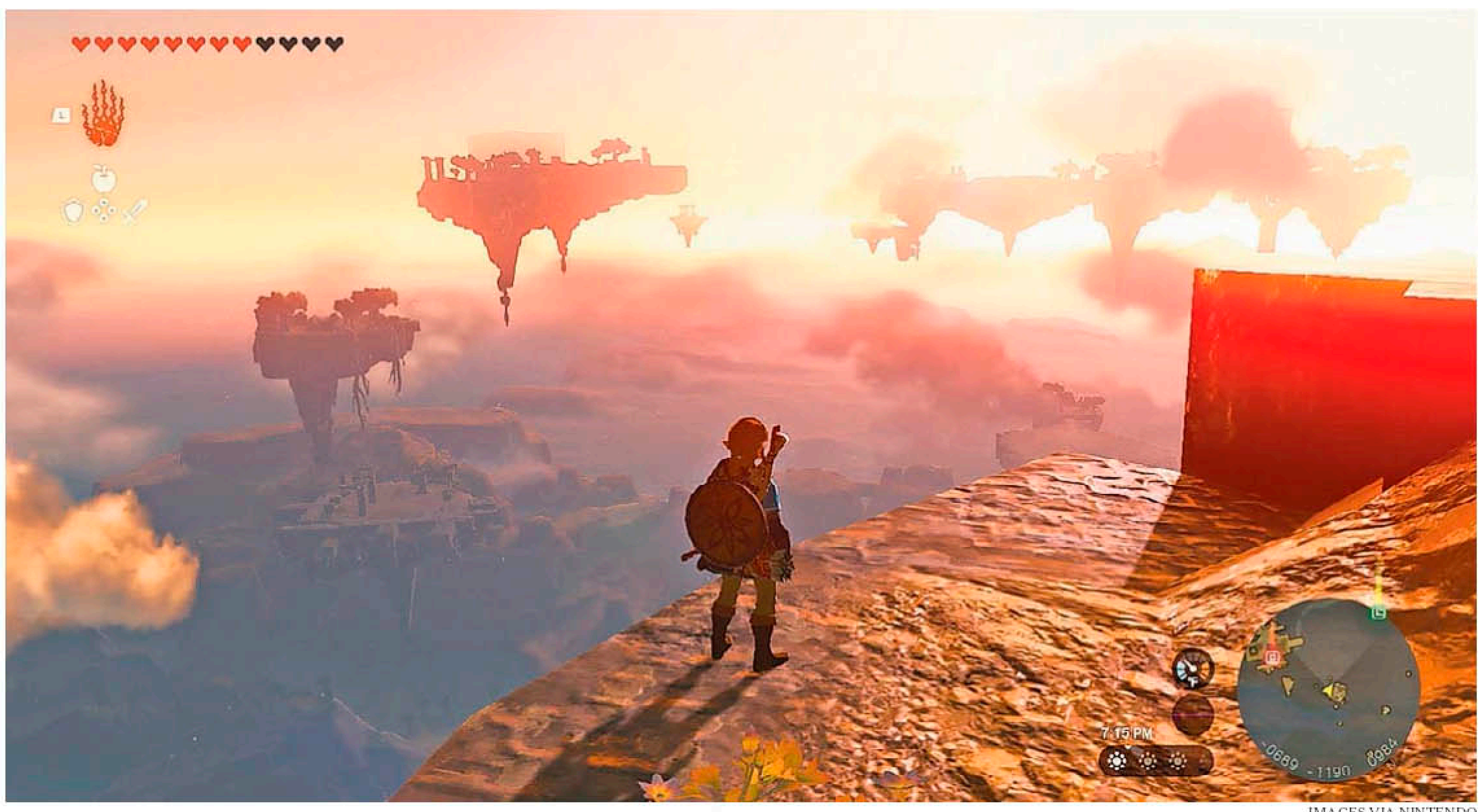
'I'm best when I either don't know it's a comedy or don't play it as a comedy — then you might find me funny.'
CHRIS MESSINA

Although Messina proved well suited for the role, he originally didn't even want to do it, turning down the part multiple times before relenting. ("Mindy wouldn't take no for an answer," he explained.) He was, he said, "very worried about every aspect of it," including the commitment to a network comedy with 20-plus episodes per season, potentially for many years — perhaps making it more difficult for him to do the kind of serious work he dreamed of as a performer.

"I wanted to do 'Dog Day Afternoon.' I wanted to do 'Midnight Cowboy,'" he said. Though he liked the role and Kaling, "I was afraid of it running forever." And, of course, he was afraid of something else: the genre. "I was afraid of not being able to keep up with them comedically," he said. "I am afraid of jokes."

On the other hand, being afraid is what Messina wants. "Being scared of a role, of an opportunity, being challenged, that's what I'm looking for," he said. "Maybe it's corny or too actorly, but I do like finding closed doors inside of me."

Aiming for the Sky, Tears of the Kingdom Goes Vertical



IMAGES VIA NINTENDO

The Legend of Zelda's latest entry optimizes its floating islands.

Above, a scene from Tears of the Kingdom. The new game for the Nintendo Switch offers an expansive experience brimming with caves, chasms and sky islands.

By ZACHARY SMALL

When Breath of the Wild was released in 2017, it rescued The Legend of Zelda, a video game franchise growing stale because of a predictable gameplay loop of dungeons and fetch quests. By re-emphasizing freedom, the game allowed players to experiment with a dynamic physics system in ways that even its developers did not fully anticipate.

Its direct sequel, Tears of the Kingdom, had its own burdens.

Many wondered how the series producer Eiji Aonuma and the director Hidemaro Fujibayashi might outdo themselves in the follow-up to Breath of the Wild, which has been frequently cited as one of the best games ever made.

Yet they have mostly succeeded, with an experience almost triple the size, one brimming with caves, chasms and sky islands. New abilities allow players to manipulate virtually any object and build rickshaws and rail cars. Classic dungeons return in the form of multilayered temples with interlocking puzzles.

The New York Times met last week with Aonuma and Fujibayashi to discuss Tears of the Kingdom, which was released for the Nintendo Switch on Friday, and what sets it apart from its predecessors.

The idea of exploring the sky began with the first mainline Zelda game that Fujibayashi directed: Skyward Sword for the Nintendo Wii. That game was criticized in part because of loading screens between the sky world and the surface world. But in Tears of the Kingdom, players can magically jump through ceilings or glide through the skies.

"When I proposed the idea to seamlessly explore the world vertically, from the very top to the very bottom, I knew I was making a ridiculous request," said Fujibayashi, who

Beyond combat and puzzles, the game offers dozens of side quests.

acknowledged that many of his original ideas came to fruition in Tears of the Kingdom.

Aonuma added that Skyward Sword may have left his colleague with a "sense of dissatisfaction that something was incomplete."

Tears of the Kingdom feels like the first Zelda game to fully grasp the three-dimensional space the franchise first explored in Ocarina of Time, a lauded effort for the Nintendo 64. Perfecting how players interact with the sky islands — "If you put them too high, the islands look like specks of trash," Aonuma said — required plenty of trial and error.

"When you are in the sky, the feeling of gravity is a little different, and we wanted to optimize the gameplay experience," Fujibayashi said. "To figure out where to draw the line, I personally dove off many sky islands to nail down what feels good."

The sky islands appear after what residents of the game's fictitious kingdom of Hyrule call the Upheaval, which unfolds in the game's opening scenes. Princess Zelda has stumbled upon the mummified remains of Ganondorf, a demon king sealed away 10,000 years ago. The seal is broken, and her loyal knight, Link, shatters his sacred sword while defending her. The hero loses consciousness; the princess vanishes in a time warp.

One major narrative theme in Tears of the Kingdom is the idea of legend: The Imprisoning War was mentioned in A Link to the Past, released for the Super Nintendo in 1991, but it was not described in detail until now. Aonuma said creating new stories often requires drawing on Zelda mythology, which fans have spent considerable hours studying to create a timeline of the franchise.

"It's like archaeology," Fujibayashi added. "It's not fixing history, but making new discoveries."

Although Tears of the Kingdom arrives with Ganondorf taking his traditional role as the series villain, it does not give much depth to his character. Some fans hoped the game would follow the lead of the GameCube's Wind Waker, which explained that Ganondorf's hatred for Hyrule was the result of enduring his own people's suffering in the arid desert.

"It's very possible from here on out that we will be able to see further character development and changes to his personality as the series continues," Aonuma said, adding, "Ganondorf is an ingredient that we use to supplement gameplay."

Forty hours into the game, it is clear that most of its content remains unseen. Beyond combat and puzzles, there are dozens of side quests, like meddling in a contentious mayoral election or helping the local newspaper's investigative reporter get his scoops.

Fujibayashi said one of his favorite side quests involved forest spirits called Koroks, who are trying to reunite; in a nod to the game's flexibility, some Nintendo employees handled them gently, while others would strap a Korok onto a rocket and shoot it into space. A quest to revive the Great Fairies by bringing a traveling band back together stood out for Aonuma, who said he had been fascinated by the Irish drum since the instrument was featured in The Wind Waker.

Similar moments of delight — or shock — are sprinkled throughout Tears of the Kingdom.

When a player's makeshift rocket ship falls apart, Link plummets back to earth like Wile E. Coyote. Attaching steak onto an arrow lures enemies toward a tasty meal. In one playthrough, spelunking in a deep chasm ended abruptly when a giant frog appeared, noticeable only by its single glowing eye and the sound of its inhaling Link.

From top, the director Hidemaro Fujibayashi and the Legend of Zelda's series producer, Eiji Aonuma.

ELISABETH VINCENTELLI | THEATER REVIEW

On the Cusp of Revolution. Let's Sing It Out.

STEVEN PISANO

Starr Busby, foreground, in Elizabeth Swados's musical "The Beautiful Lady," set in a St. Petersburg, Russia, cabaret.

The Beautiful Lady
CRITIC'S PICK
Through May 28 at La MaMa, Manhattan; lamama.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

A musical by Elizabeth Swados is set in the years leading up to the creation of the Soviet Union.

A FEW MINUTES INTO "The Beautiful Lady," you might find yourself thinking the show owes a little something to "Natasha, Pierre & the Great Comet of 1812": After all, here are, again, a bunch of exalted Russians in a cabaret, singing of life, loss, hope and love.

But "The Beautiful Lady," a musical by Elizabeth Swados from 1984, is actually the artistic forebear of Dave Malloy's "Great Comet," even though it is only just now getting a New York premiere at La MaMa, under Anne Bogart's evocative direction.

Swados is best remembered for her 1978 show "Runaways" (briefly revived by Encores! Off-Center in 2016, a few months after her death); "The Beautiful Lady" adds to the mounting evidence that she was among the most idiosyncratic and creative composer-lyricists of her generation. (A few years ago Malloy joined the likes of Michael R. Jackson, Taylor Mac and Shaina Taub on the tribute album "The Liz Swados Project.")

More of a song cycle than a traditionally structured, plot-driven musical, "The Beautiful Lady" is set at the Stray Dog Café, a real-life St. Petersburg cabaret where the owner, Boris Pronin (Starr Busby), hosted such literary luminaries as Anna Akhmatova (Kate Fuglei), Osip Mandelstam (Henry Stram), Marina Tsvetaeva (Ashley Pérez Flanagan) and Alexander Blok (George Abud, from "The Band's Visit") in the years leading up to World War I. They're high on ideas and ideals — and, for some of them, on each other — and dream of a political, sexual and artistic revolution.

Swados and Paul Schmidt, who translated many of those writers' poems (large chunks of which are incorporated into the show), wrote the book, which was revised by Jocelyn Clarke and serves mostly as a thread linking the songs. And, oh, what wonders those are: vibrant and funny, desperate and elegiac, with some so lovely they will shatter your heart.

Bogart makes the most of La MaMa's deep stage and creates striking tableaus with little more than a few chairs and tables (Andromache Chalfant did the scenic design) and bold lighting (designed by Brian H. Scott) that focuses on blue and red. The effect is powerfully stark and never overwhelms the humans at the heart of the story.

When they change into gray jumpsuits about midway through, we are reminded how often dreams of revolution have ended in repressive regimes. In the musical's dreamlike world, the Stray Dog remains open long enough that its denizens face that reality and must resort to gallows humor, telling jokes that mine the cruel absurdity of life under Stalinist rule, with its Orwellian Newspeak and thought crimes. (Some of those jokes have been repurposed for Vladimir Putin; they still work.)

"My lady made of silk and sighs," Sergei Yesenin (Andrew Polec, a long way from "Bat Out of Hell") sings in an ode to the American dancer Isadora Duncan, yearning and helpless as his world comes crashing down. "My lady full of laughs and goodbyes." He might as well be describing — poetically, of course — the spirit of this show.

Writer Bites a World That's Feeding Her

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

people to be uncomfortable with the way that they're trained to write about and market and sell books, and be uncomfortable with who's in the room, and how they're talking about who's in the room."

"And it's also functioning on a different level for writers of color," she added, "to think about how we are moving through those spaces, and the traps that are set for us."

Kuang, a best-selling fantasy writer and doctoral student in East Asian languages and literatures at Yale, said this while sitting in a sunny office at the headquarters of her publisher, HarperCollins. It was late April, and she had just signed 2,000 copies of "Yellowface" — which William Morrow, a HarperCollins imprint, will release on Tuesday — to ship to 250 independent bookstores. The location was oddly fitting for a conversation in which Kuang pondered how her novel might be received within the industry she brutally satirizes.

Judging from the largely ecstatic early responses to the novel, the literary world seems to enjoy being skewered. HarperCollins bought the book for a mid-six-figure sum, and is sending Kuang on a 10-city North American tour. Barnes & Noble is releasing a special edition of the novel, with an essay about Asian American representation in literature by Kuang. Independent booksellers have chosen it as their top "Indie Next" pick for June.

The novel has drawn praise from industry outlets like Booklist, Publishers Weekly and Kirkus, which lauded Kuang's unflinching accuracy: "Yes, publishing is like this; finally someone has written it out."

"I laughed out loud and also groaned," said Zakiya Dalila Harris, who drew on her own experience as a Black woman working in publishing for her novel, "The Other Black Girl." "It felt so real and triggering."

The book stirred discomfort from the start. When Kuang sent the first 100 pages to Hannah Bowman, her literary agent, Bowman at first tried to dissuade her from pursuing the project, warning that nobody would want to publish it. "We did have a conversation where I said, 'There are things in here that I am afraid could offend people you work with,'" Bowman recalled.

After Kuang insisted, Bowman sent it out, and was pleasantly surprised by the enthusiastic responses. "For publishing insiders, it's just catnip, it's so dishy about the industry," Bowman said. "Everyone who's read it has said, 'This is saying something that needs to be said.'"

Within HarperCollins, there was brief, awkward debate about whether some might see "Yellowface" as a not so subtle critique of the company.

"There was a lot of conversation on our side of 'Oh my God, she's writing this takedown of publishing; is it going to be a problem for Harper?'" said May Chen, who acquired and edited the book, and noted that parts of the narrative rang painfully true to her as a Chinese American publishing executive. "We're like 'Wow, does she like us?'"

For Kuang — who at 26 has built a devoted following for her deeply researched and thought-provoking fantasy novels — publishing a scorched-earth satirical takedown of the publishing industry was creatively and professionally risky. She's keenly aware of how she has benefited from publishing's hype machine, with its social media marketing campaigns and breathless book deal announcements on industry websites. At the same time, she has started to chafe at the ways in which she and her work have been promoted and sometimes pigeonholed as "diverse."

"I have participated in all of this, but I'm also starting to get very tired of it," she said. "It's not just people who think you don't deserve your audience or your place in publishing who will say, 'Well, you're only there because you're a token diverse author.' You also get this rhetoric from people who are trying to support marginalized voices," she continued. "I hate the feeling of being read just because somebody's trying to tick off a diversity check box."

Kuang, whose parents immigrated to Texas from Guangzhou, China, when she was 4, started writing her first novel as a way to reconnect with her family's culture and history.

While studying history at Georgetown University, Kuang took a year off and went to live in Beijing, and began writing episodes of a fantasy story that she sent to her father. Those chapters became her debut novel, "The Poppy War," a martial arts-infused Chinese military history that drew on the Second Sino-Japanese War. She sold it to Harper Voyager as part of a trilogy, and it was nominated for the 2019 World Fantasy Award for Best Novel.

At the same time her fiction career was taking off, Kuang immersed herself in Chinese history and language, and got master's degrees in Chinese studies from Cambridge and Oxford. She loved the camaraderie and the erudite atmosphere, but was uncomfortable with the elitist culture of academia. The experience inspired her fourth novel, "Babel," a historical fantasy set in mid-1800s Oxford, about a powerful group of translators who can wield language like a magic spell.

Like the "Poppy War" trilogy, "Babel" used fantasy tropes to examine complex themes: the impact of colonialism and racism, and the way elite institutions drive social inequality. The book hit the New York Times best-seller list, and went on to sell some 350,000 copies.

Kuang had just turned in the manuscript for "Babel" when she got the idea for "Yellowface" in early 2021. It was a few months after protests had erupted following the police killing of George Floyd, and publishing, along with other industries, was wrestling with issues of diversity and representation. Kuang was skeptical that those conversations would lead to action. "A lot of promises were made and a lot of goals were set, and I think that very few of those promises have been kept," she said.

SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

R.F. Kuang knows that her fifth novel, "Yellowface," might make some readers uneasy, and that's the point: "Reading about racism should not be a feel-good experience," she said.

It was easy for Kuang to conjure the caustic, blithely racist voice of her narrator, June Hayward — a struggling novelist who is consumed by bitterness toward her former classmate Athena Liu, an industry darling who writes best-selling novels that draw on Chinese culture and history. In June's warped view, Athena succeeded only because publishers wanted an Asian American author on their list.

"I've been living with June's voice in my head for a really long time," Kuang said. "You start internalizing a lot of the insecurity and doubt about your place in the room. I'm constantly questioning, like, do I deserve the space I'm taking up? Do I deserve this audience?"

After Athena dies suddenly in June's presence, choking on pancakes while drunkenly celebrating a Netflix deal, June steals Athena's work in progress, a novel about Chinese laborers who were sent by the British to the Allied Front during World War I. She sends it out as her own, and publishers swoon: June gets the six-figure advance and spot on the best-seller list that she feels she deserves.

She's also unsettled by accusations that she was profiting from the pain of Chinese laborers and guilty of cultural appropriation, and is haunted by an anonymous account on Twitter that accuses her of stealing Athena's work.

June's publisher tries to head off scandal. A book publicist gently prods her about her ethnic heritage — "You're not . . . anything else?" the publicist asks after clarifying that June isn't Asian. A Korean American editorial assistant suggests that June hire a sensitivity reader to make sure her depiction of Chinese workers isn't offensive. June refuses, and then gets slammed by critics for being "inauthentic."

While writing the first draft in a feverish few months, Kuang drew on her own insecurities and experience of being an Asian American author in an overwhelmingly white industry.

"With Athena, I'm trying to work through my worst nightmares about what I could become," she said. "She is that token Asian author who is prized because of her ability to be a cultural broker. And because her career is founded on being the one who is able to explain Chinese history, Chinese Americans, to white readers, she's also very threatened by any other Chinese American writer in the room."

Kuang seems to be reveling in the irony that a major corporate publisher is releasing such an unsparing takedown of the industry. In late February, she posted a video on TikTok and Instagram, in which she smiles innocently, hugging a copy of "Yellowface," with a caption that says "HarperCollins: Sure we'll publish that satire you wrote about the publishing industry we're sure you didn't say anything mean about us."

For Kuang, who is under contract to publish three more novels with HarperCollins, writing about her worst professional anxieties has been like an exorcism of sorts.

"Part of what made me write 'Yellowface' was I finally had to trap it down on the page," she said. "Now all that nastiness is between the covers."

2 SOCCER

Players choose Ukraine's top club despite the war.

3 TRACK AND FIELD

Celebrating Tori Bowie while puzzling over her death.

6 PRO BASKETBALL

Ja Morant was suspended after a video appeared to show him with a gun.

Sports

The New York Times

PRO BASKETBALL | N.B.A. DRAFT

Sure Thing In the Draft Is Reliable In Adversity

CHRISTOPHE PETIT TESSON/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Victor Wembanyama in an All-Star Game in December in Paris. The N.B.A. draft lottery on Tuesday will determine which team gets the No. 1 pick. The Pistons, Rockets and Spurs have the best odds.

At 19, a star has a record of responding to challenges with mental fortitude.

By TANIA GANGULI

Boris Diaw was passing through Paris in late September and thought he would check out a basketball game. A young player he had heard about for years was playing.

It was the first home game of the season for the Metropolitans 92, a French league team led by the star teenager Victor Wembanyama. At Marcel-Cerdan Sports Palace in Levallois, near Paris, N.B.A. scouts sat courtside and fans trickled into the stands. A person in a bee costume, the Mets' mascot, trotted around offering high-fives.

Diaw grew up in Paris and played 14 years in the N.B.A., including more than four seasons in San Antonio with Tony Parker, considered by many to be the best N.B.A. player ever to come out of France. But on that day in September, Diaw felt as though he had never seen so much excitement about a French player, even before scouts and celebrities watched Wembanyama dominate in a Las Vegas showcase, and before the demand to see him grew so overwhelming that the team had to move a game to a larger arena.

'It could be basketball or just a card game. Under pressure, I've been twice as good.'

VICTOR WEMBANYAMA, the French phenom who is all but certain to be the N.B.A.'s first pick in June.

The enthusiasm is intense. So is the pressure.

"I mean, it's tough for him," Diaw said. "I hope he can actually get away from that and just focus on his career and playing and practicing and having fun, too."

Wembanyama has been hailed as the most surefire N.B.A. prospect since LeBron James, and he is all but certain to be the No. 1 pick in the draft in June. But the pressure of being the first player chosen in the N.B.A. draft can crush even high school phenoms, big-name college players and international stars. The teams vying for that top pick in Tuesday's draft lottery have to consider that, too.

But Wembanyama's history and the way he has handled the

Continued on Page D4

PRO BASKETBALL | N.B.A. PLAYOFFS

Tatum Erupts for 51, a Game 7 Record, as Boston Knocks Out Philadelphia

By SCOTT CACCIOLA

BOSTON — Jaylen Brown had used his public platform ahead of Sunday afternoon's game to deliver a clear message to Celtics fans: Get loud. The energy at TD Garden for the team's home games during its N.B.A. Eastern Conference semifinal series with the Philadelphia 76ers had been merely OK, he said.

On Sunday, Brown got what he wanted for Game 7. It was loud early, and it was loud late. The crowd cheered every dunk and 3-pointer, every defensive stop and offensive rebound.

By the time Boston's Jayson Tatum stood near the center circle late in the fourth quarter, in the waning moments of a tour de force and the best game of his career, he beckoned the fans for even more noise. They were happy to oblige.

The crowd was still cheering when the Celtics left the court with a 112-88 victory that decided the best-of-seven series and assured Boston that its championship dream would live on.

Tatum, a first-team All-N.B.A. selection who had not exactly played flawless basketball during the series, was extraordinary on Sunday, scoring 51 points — an N.B.A. record for a Game 7. Brown added 25 points in the win. The Celtics led by as many as 30.

"That's when I'm at my best, when I'm having fun," said Tatum,

ADAM GLANZMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Jayson Tatum's Celtics will face the Heat in the East finals.

adding that he tried to channel his childhood love for the game. "When you go out there and relax and kind of think about those days when you were at the Y.M.C.A. or whatever, the game opens up."

A blowout loss will surely lead to an off-season of uncertainty for the third-seeded 76ers, who had title hopes of their own. But Philadelphia's Joel Embiid, who recently collected his first N.B.A. Most Valuable Player Award, struggled in Game 7, finishing with just 15 points while shooting 5 of 18 from the field. Sixers guard James Harden scored only 9 points.

"That's the best team in the league," Embiid said of the Celtics. "They're so talented, and they've got a lot of guys who can play great basketball. Losing to them, seven games, I thought for the most part we played hard."

The Celtics, the No. 2 seed in the East, put the game out of reach with a searing run in the third quarter that included back-to-back 3-pointers by Brown and Tatum. The fourth quarter was a party that masqueraded as the closing stages of an otherwise tightly contested playoff series.

"When J.T. is playing like that, we're going to be extremely hard to beat," Brown said of Tatum.

In the process, the Celtics earned a meeting with the eighth-

Continued on Page D5

SOCCER

When Your Champions League Dream Runs Through a War Zone

By TARIQ PANJA

By the time Lassina Traoré returned to his team, everybody else was gone.

In 2021, Traoré, a forward from Burkina Faso, had joined the other expensive foreign recruits lured to Ukraine by the country's perennial soccer champion, Shakhtar Donetsk. Back then, Traoré played on a team built around a Brazilian core, supplemented by other foreign talent and some of Ukrainian soccer's best players, for a club that was regarded as arguably the top team in Eastern Europe. Then the Russian bombs began to fall, and everything changed.

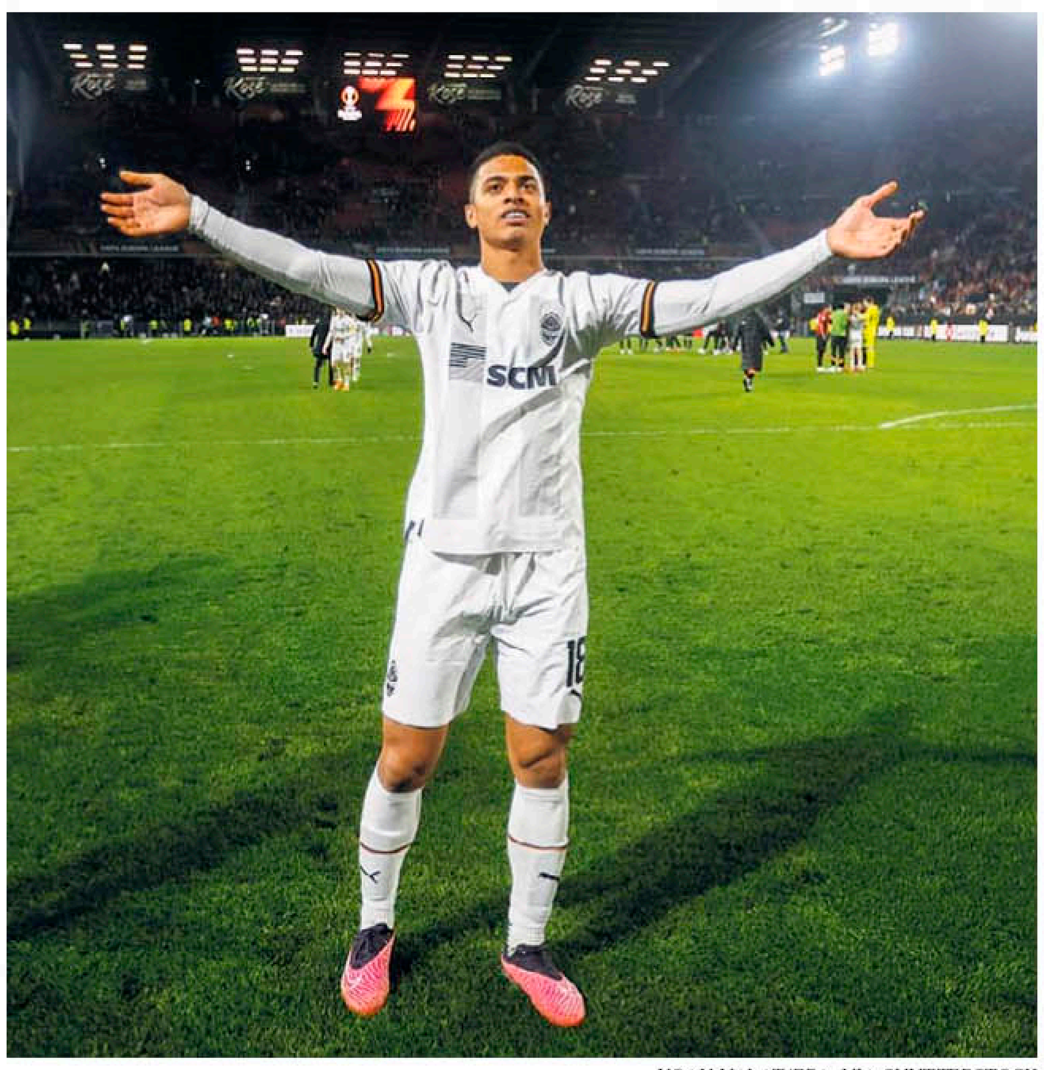
When Shakhtar returned to practice after a monthslong hiatus abroad, the cosmopolitan air of the club had vanished. A roster that had been dotted with almost a dozen Brazilians just over a year ago now contains only one. Clubs elsewhere in Europe, shopping for bargains amid broken contracts, skimmed off other talent. Even Roberto De Zerbi, Shakhtar's highly rated Italian coach, had moved on.

Traoré, like all the others, could have gone, too. FIFA, soccer's governing body, issued an edict shortly after the start of the war that allowed foreigners, whatever their contractual status, to unilaterally quit Ukrainian teams and sign elsewhere.

Traoré was vacationing in Barcelona, Spain, on the day Russia invaded Ukraine. He could only follow from afar as Shakhtar's foreign stars — crammed in a hotel conference room with their families — pleaded for help as war planes circled the skies above Kyiv. Within a few days, they had left the country. Those who escaped did not return.

Traoré returned to Amsterdam, where he had previously played for the Dutch club Ajax, to wait out the early months of the war. While the rest of Shakhtar's armada of foreign talent found new clubs — some back home in Brazil, others in Europe — Traoré took his time. Slowly, the thought of returning to Shakhtar started to look like not only a viable option but the right thing to do.

"I had many options," he said after a recent practice in Kyiv, where the team has been based for the last few weeks. "The club knows. I know. And we discussed it. But I decided to stay."



KACPER PEMPEL/REUTERS YOAN VALAT/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Lassina Traoré said he returned to Shakhtar Donetsk as a matter of honor. Right, Venezuela's Kevin Kelsy explained to his family he joined the club to pursue a dream.

For him, he said, "it's in my culture that when they give you something, you have to give something back. For me, it was time to give back the love they gave me before."

Traoré said that he understood why many of his teammates decided not to return. He admitted that he had some difficult conversations with his wife and parents before agreeing to do so. (His wife is now living with his parents at their home in Paris.)

For most of the season the team lived in a hotel complex in the western city of Lviv, but it has recently moved to Kyiv, closer to its training ground. A return to Donetsk, in the east, is out of the question; Russian forces have controlled the city since last year, joining separatists that forced Shakhtar into exile as long ago as 2014.

The club Traoré has rejoined is a shadow of the powerhouse it once was. The squad and its finances have been gutted; Shakhtar estimates that it has lost at least $40 million worth of talent for nothing as a result of FIFA's decision to let players walk away from their contracts.

"We have no money," the club's chief executive, Sergei Palkin, said on a recent visit to London. The Ukrainian league's return, as much a symbol of the country's resolve as a sporting competition, is played out in front of empty stands and to the sound of occasional air raid sirens forcing players from the field. The league's television contract has collapsed. Sponsors have all but disappeared.

Stars fled Ukraine's top soccer club when the war began.

"We have no income from Ukraine," Palkin said. "Zero."

What money there is has come from Shakhtar's presence in the Champions League and the Europa League, European soccer's second-tier competition, and from the record transfer fee the club received by selling its star Ukrainian forward, Mykhailo Mudryk, to Chelsea in England.

New money cannot come soon enough. While FIFA allowed foreign players to leave Shakhtar without a fee, it insisted the club pay any debts to clubs it signed those foreign players from, including a handful that did not play a single minute for the club because of the war, according to Palkin.

Traoré's decision to return, then, came as a pleasant surprise. He had cost the club $10 million in a transfer fee when he joined from Ajax in 2021. A forward who was not considered a mainstay before the war, he is suddenly a pivotal figure, and not just for what he is doing on the field.

His continued presence, Traoré and the club hope, is a sign to potential recruits that soccer in Ukraine remains a viable career option. It is an option that proved alluring to players with European dreams like Kevin Kelsy, an 18-year-old striker from Venezuela.

Not so long ago, Kelsy would not have been a target for Shakhtar, which for years used the wealth of its oligarch owner to shop at a higher price bracket. But now, Shakhtar has turned to eager young players like Kelsy and recruits from Georgia and Tajikistan.

Kelsy said signing a five-year contract with a club in a country at war was a surprisingly easy decision. The prospect of fulfilling a dream of making it to Europe trumped everything else, he said — even the persistent threat from Russian missiles and planes, the regular drone of air raid sirens and the rumble of distant explosions. His family, though, had questions.

"When I told them, they asked, 'Why Ukraine?' " he said in an interview in Spanish. "They knew everything that happened, and there was a little bit of nervousness and a little of fear. But I spoke to them about this theme, that it's very important for me to go to play football in Europe, in a big team like Shakhtar, and in the end they understood."

Kelsy, like the scores of South Americans who have signed for Ukrainian clubs in the past, views the club as a steppingstone on a journey that he hopes might one day propel him to the club of his dreams, A.C. Milan. Games in elite competitions like the Champions League, he knows, offer an elite stage to show he belongs. (Shakhtar, which led the Ukrainian league entering the weekend, is on track to return to the competition next season.)

Having lost so many players, Palkin, the Shakhtar chief executive, now insists that any new recruits sign contracts that include clauses that would prevent them from taking advantage of any FIFA regulations that would allow them to suddenly leave. Any player who signs on now, he said, surely understands the commitment they are making.

As a new recruit, Kelsy knows no other reality as a Shakhtar player. That is not the case for Traoré, who recalls far more luxurious times. In those days, jet travel and big crowds were the norm, not the long, arduous bus journeys that are now required to fulfill fixtures in empty stadiums.

"It's not normal life like we used to have: no home, you can't see family, and also you have to always be careful, sirens on all the time," he said. "But you get used to it."

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UPPER EAST SIDE MANHATTAN BANKRUPTCY AUCTION
162-164 East 82nd Street, New York, NY (Block 1510, Lots 0045 & 0046)
Auction Date: Thurs, June 15, 2023, 11:00 A.M. (EST)
Bid Deadline: Tues, June 13, 2023, 5:00 P.M. (EST)
OPENING BID: $10,000,000
The Corbin Group at Rosewood Realty has been exclusively retained to run the bankruptcy sale of two contigiuos Upper East Side apartment buildings located at 162-164 East 82nd Street, New York, NY. The properties boast a combined 19,607 SF and 37 residential units. Just a few blocks away from central park and the areas best restaurants, boutiques, art, and shopping.
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05 NISSAN 5N1AA08B35N722432
02 NISSAN 1N4AL11D62C280873
08 NISSAN 1N4AL21E08C236259
08 FORD 1FMCU59H88KB75275
09 NISSAN 3N1BC13E49L475747
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04 HONDA 1HGCM56304A177570
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14 CHEVR 1G1PC5SB9E7458077
07 MERCED WDDNG71X57A063501
08 HONDA JHLRE48558C002078
15 NISSAN 3N1CE2CP0FL383617
06 ROVER SALAG25476A357940
04 CHEVR 1GCGG29V041171934
16 TOYOTA 5TDBKRFH1GS286839
13 BMW 5UXZV4C52D0B20669
00 FORD 1FTPE2427YHB17692
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11 LEXUS JTHBK1EG8B2419413
09 ACURA 5J8TB18299A006312
07 MERCED 4JGCB65E67A059438
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20 HYUNDAI 5NPD84LF5LH513270
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19 JEEP 1C4RJFAG8KC831329
08 BMW WBANV13558BZ473374
12 BMW WBAXH5C51CDW03559
17 HYUNDAI 5XYZTDLBXHG474031
15 HONDA 1HGCR2F82FA201852
13 CHEVR 1GNKVFED0DJ267543
21 HONDA 1HGCV1F11MA042702
15 FIAT 3C3CFFBRXFT615844
18 FORD 3FA6P0HD5JR228094
06 BMW WBAVB13566PT15895
13 FORD 2FMDK3GC5DBE17403
20 KIA 5XXGT4L39LG412018
16 AUDI WA1L2AFP6GA008846
14 MERCED WDDKJ8JB9EF278295
20 NISSAN 1N4BL4BV7LC250926
20 SUBARU JF2GTABC1L8278688
15 CHRYSLER 1C3CCCAB8FN720748
07 HYUNDAI KM8JM12B67U650673
11 BMW 5UXWX5C53BL700038
21 FORD 1FTER4FH9MLD13939
15 FORD 1FM5K8D88FGC20738
22 HONDA 2HGFE2F56NH566551
20 DODGE 2C3CDXBG8LH215814
06 KIA KNAGD128X65461498
Following Vehicles Sold As Salvage
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09 DODGE 2D8HN54119R584465
10 NISSAN JN8AS5MV3AW131041
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Hunter College High School Alumnae/i Association 2023 Annual Meeting of members will be held online June 3, 2023 at 2pm & in person at 71 East 94 Street, NY, NY. To register go to https://hchsaa.org/vote/ or email info@hchsaa.org.

RUNNING

The View of Road Races From the Back of the Pack

By JENNIE COUGHLIN

Latoya Shauntay Snell has run more than 200 races, and she knows where she will finish: near the back. So she expects to be seeded in the final group in multiple-wave races. But at the Brooklyn Half Marathon last month, she found herself in Wave 1.

NYCRUNS, which organized the race, had done something unusual: All runners expecting to run 12 minutes per mile or slower were part of the first wave, to give them more time to finish before the road portions of the course reopened to cars.

"I cannot tell you how relieved I felt as a back-of-the-packer," said Snell, who did not have to deal with the pressure of staying ahead of course time limits.

Some races have taken other approaches. The Providence Marathon gives runners who expect to be running at about a 14-minute pace or slower an opportunity to start the race an hour early, but it comes with some caveats. Runners are warned that roads aren't officially closed, aid stations might not be set up yet and the course marshals might not be in place.

As the running community has expanded, the average finish times for most race distances have increased. There are more runners finishing at the back of the pack, and the last finishers in races are generally slower than in previous decades.

More Reasons to Run

Martinus Evans, who started the Slow AF Run Club, said road races would need to embrace those changes to survive.

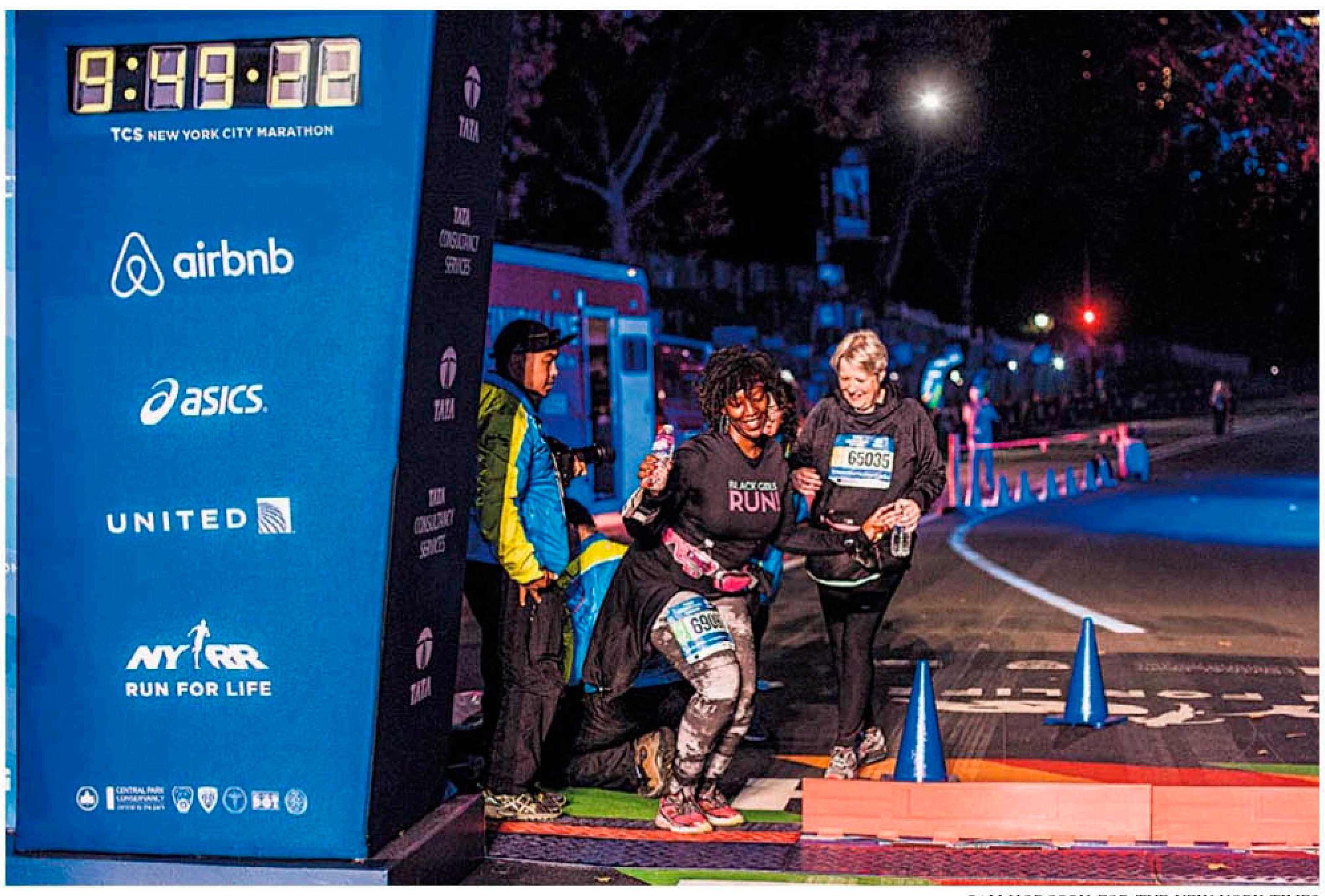
Evans says that while many races are thinking about diversity in terms of race and gender identity, "size and speed diversity still isn't front of mind." One example was T-shirts, which he said often aren't available in larger sizes.

"It helps everybody in the long run to be able to provide accessibility and size inclusivity, speed inclusivity to all the races," Evans said.

Not every race is going to do that. The Boston Marathon, which famously requires a qualifying time to enter, made the decision years ago to use times to distribute bibs, said Dave McGillivray, the race director.

But he also owns an events company that puts on several races each year for organizations.

"From my perspective, if you accept someone in the race, you



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Runners crossing the finish line of the New York City Marathon after the race's official conclusion.

should leave the finish line open until that last person crosses the finish," McGillivray said.

It isn't just the finish line that matters, he added. Course support, medical tents, amenities and the course itself are all part of the package, and race directors need to make sure they've thought about those and how to best serve all participants.

Ted Metellus, the race director for the New York City Marathon, agreed. Several years ago, the marathon started a "final finishers" effort to make sure the runners crossing the finish line at night had a good experience. The pro runners come back to help hand out medals, and Metellus and the volunteers try to make the finish line a big party.

The number of runners bringing up the rear is rising.

"They make the turn, and they come up the drive, and they hear something," he said.

After last year's marathon, Metellus said New York Road Runners, which hosts dozens of races in addition to the marathon, has tried to carry the same level of energy and celebration of the final runners to their other races.

Snell first noticed it at the Ted Corbitt 15K in Central Park in December.

"I was the last runner," she said. "There were people who celebrated me. People stayed behind and cheered me on."

Metellus said one change Road Runners made was to hand out cowbells to volunteers stationed along the course of each of its races. At the Newport 5K in Jersey City, N.J., as the last participants were in the final mile, the volunteers were ringing the cowbells and cheering the women on as the sweep vehicles trailed behind them.

Jill Grunenwald calls it "running with a police escort," which is the title of her book subtitled "Tales From the Back of the Pack."

"The thing with the back is that everybody's kind of in that same position," she said, calling it "kind of a club."

And the back-of-a-race field is a club that has fun at races.

Metellus said if you stand at the start for multiple-wave races, trying to get the runners excited about being out there, the energy builds the farther back you go.

"It goes from this quiet murmur, and it starts to build and build and build as the race goes on," he said. "It is usually those mid to back waves that are loudest."

Tips for Slower Runners

Talk to runners who typically finish toward the back of the pack in a race, and they'll say the same thing: Check race time limits before signing up.

That's one of several things that slower runners have to consider when choosing races. While everybody is on the same course, from Eliud Kipchoge to the person aiming to finish a marathon in six or seven hours, there are some extra things back-of-the-pack runners have to consider.

- If you're going to be close to the limit, ask race organizers what happens if you fall behind. Some races require you to hit certain spots on pace, and if you don't, you have to stop. Some races allow you to keep running, but you might be moved to the sidewalk.

- Find out when water stations close. You might need to carry your own water and energy gels.

- For races that allow runner tracking through an app, find out when they start to remove the timing mats along the course. If it might be before you reach that point, you can let friends and family know ahead of time so they aren't wondering why it looks like you stopped.

TRACK AND FIELD

Sprinter's Hometown Mourns Sudden Death

Amid the mystery of Tori Bowie's passing, her life and achievements on and off the track are celebrated in Sandhill, Miss.

By TALYA MINSBERG

BRANDON, Miss. — Before she became a three-time Olympic medalist and before she earned the title of world's fastest woman, Frentorish Bowie welcomed a camera crew to her hometown, Sandhill, Miss.

"This is where I found my strength," Bowie, who went by Tori, said of the small town 30 minutes northeast of Jackson.

It was 2016, and at age 26 Bowie was about to make her Olympic debut as part of the U.S. sprinting team at the Rio de Janeiro Games. But first she stopped at Pisgah High School to visit teachers and staff and found herself wiping away happy tears. She loved being home.

"One day I hope that I can come to Sandhill and there's this huge sign that says, 'Welcome to Sandhill, home of Tori Bowie,'" she said.

On Saturday, the community that took such pride in Bowie was struggling for answers as it gathered for her funeral and mourned her recent unexplained death. She was 32.

Her body was found on May 2 by Orange County, Fla., sheriff's deputies, who were conducting a wellness check after she had not been seen or heard from in several days.

Bowie had been pregnant, but it was unclear whether she carried to term before she died. A program provided at the funeral service on Saturday said that Bowie was "preceded in death" by a daughter, Ariana Bowie. An official at the Orange County medical examiner's office on Saturday who declined to give her name confirmed a "baby Bowie," but she declined to provide further details.

No cause of death has been released because toxicology tests are pending, and the office said the tests could take up to three months to complete.

Bowie's final years appeared to be as much a mystery as her death. Fellow track athletes who once trained or competed with her said she had grown distant. Many didn't know her off the track at all. She struggled with anxiety and paranoia, said her longtime agent, Kimberly N. Holland, adding that Bowie became more introverted.

At Saturday's memorial service at True Vine Baptist Church in Brandon, Miss., a crowd of mourners tried to put aside their questions and focus on Bowie's athletic achievements, her faith and her effervescent moments.

But a sense of shock still permeated the room as tributes were shared. Even the Rev. Sylvester London, who officiated the service and gave the eulogy, described his disbelief when he learned of Bowie's death from a news alert. "I was shocked, shocked," London said. "Then I started to pray."

Bowie's path to track and field fame began in Sandhill almost by accident. She wanted to play basketball at Pisgah High School, but the school required interested students to compete in track, too, because it was too small to field separate teams for both sports. Bowie reluctantly agreed, even though she much preferred long basketball shorts to the shorter bottoms given to track athletes.

Without a track to call their own, the Pisgah Dragons practiced by running around a grassy field. They went on to win three state championship titles, with Bowie competing in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 4x100-meter relay and long jump.

Still, Bowie's first love was basketball. When she was recruited by the University of Southern Mississippi, she turned the tables. She would do track and field if she could try to walk on to the basketball team, she said. They came to an agreement.

"What stood out to me is that she was really tall and lanky," said Sonya Varnell, a longtime athletic administrator at the University of Southern Mississippi. "Most sprinters got a lot of muscle on them, and she was tall and thin like a basketball player."

Varnell was drawn to Bowie, whom she described as a hard worker who was humble and unassuming. Varnell was also raised by her grandmother, grew up in the same county as Bowie and had also been a first-generation student-athlete. "She came from nothing," Varnell said, "just like me." She added, "I don't think she realized how good she was or how good she could be."

Her greatest potential initially seemed to be in field events. Holland, who signed Bowie in January 2013, said in an interview that she knew she had signed "the next one." Bowie was being groomed as a long jumper, but showed promise in the sprints, though Holland described Bowie's initial form as looking like "she was running from a Rottweiler."

When Al Joyner, a 1984 Olympic gold medalist in the triple jump, met Bowie in 2013, he too saw the elite potential. He compared her to his late wife, the Olympic champion Florence Griffith Joyner, and his sister, the Olympic champion Jackie Joyner-Kersee. She could surpass their records, he told her.

"I told her she's going to be the next great one," Joyner said. "And that was in 2014. I'll never forget the day she beat Allyson Felix. She told me, 'Al, you were right.'"

Holland's response toward Bowie's influx of attention? "Welcome to the party."

At the Rio de Janeiro Olympics, Bowie earned a silver medal in the 100 meters, a bronze in the 200 meters and a gold in the 4x100-meter relay on a team that included Felix.

In 2017, she won a world championship, earning the title of fastest woman in the world after a dramatic 100-meter race that she won by one-hundredth of a second by leaning her head forward across the finish line.

Ever the fierce competitor, after that finish, she approached Holland, whom she affectionately called Ms. Kim. "I need a new coach," Bowie said, Holland recalled, despite the monumental win. "The race was too close."

Bowie's dreams expanded. She wanted to get into modeling and was interested in working with fashion brands, and in 2018 she did both. She was featured in a Valentino campaign and a Stella McCartney-Adidas collaboration. She walked in New York Fashion Week. She was photographed by Annie Leibovitz for Vogue and was featured in ESPN's Body Issue.

She wanted to use her fame for good, her friend Antoine Preudhomme said. When she was a toddler, Bowie and her sister, Tamarra, who is 11 months older, were handed over to the foster care system by their birth mother, Bowie once told reporters. Their paternal grandmother, Bobbie Louise Smith, gained legal guardianship and raised them.

Bowie wanted to show up for foster children, Preudhomme said. Together, the pair would visit foster homes across Florida and Mississippi three to four times a year to deliver Christmas gifts and occasionally challenge children to foot races.

Tanyeka Anderson, a program director at the Mississippi foster care provider Apelah, remembers a 2019 visit from Bowie. She said: "For a person of her magnitude to come help? To come give back to our children? That's a very special thing."

She said Bowie gave a party for the children that included dancing, and stayed for more than four hours. "She was very vibrant, very happy," Anderson said.

MURAD SEZER/REUTERS

DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

SUSAN BROADBRIDGE/THE HATTIESBURG AMERICAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tori Bowie was a three-time Olympic medalist and the world's fastest woman. At the Rio de Janeiro Olympics, she earned silver in the 100 meters, bronze in the 200 meters and gold in the 4x100-meter relay.

'She was very vibrant, very happy.'

TANYEKA ANDERSON, the program director at a foster care provider Bowie visited in 2019. Bowie would later become reserved and private, loved ones said.

But then something shifted. Bowie was always private, friends and former coaches said. In the past few years, Bowie lost touch with many of the people who had been a part of her athletic rise.

Varnell and Joyner found their texts and calls unanswered and unreturned. Varnell hoped she was busy. Joyner hoped she was training for the next big thing, perhaps a comeback after her 2019 appearance at the world championships, where she placed fourth in the long jump. Bowie's Instagram page, which had been fairly active, was last updated in October 2019.

"She even backed away from me," Holland said. "But she always found her way back because of the bond we had."

She last raced in a 200-meter event at a sprint series in Montverde, Fla., in July 2022. Bowie attended Full Sail University in Winter Park, Fla., in the fall of 2022 until her death, her family obituary said.

A few weeks before Bowie died, she and Holland talked on the phone for the last time. "I can't even put the words into how much joy came across the phone," Holland said. "She giggled like an innocent child."

"It was the old Tori again," she added. Bowie told Holland that she was pregnant, and agreed to come to Atlanta. Holland wanted to help raise the baby. "She was excited, she was so excited," Holland said.

During visitation on Friday, many mourners heard Bowie's voice again for the first time in years, smiling as they watched her races and interviews being played on a television above Bowie's coffin.

Her infectious laugh reverberated around the room as some shook their heads in apparent disbelief.

"When I'm back in Sandhill," Bowie said in a 2016 video, "I feel free."

The funeral procession on Saturday followed Bowie back toward Sandhill for her burial. The cemetery is not far from a sign that was installed in 2018. It reads: "Welcome to the Community of Sandhill, Home of Olympic Gold Medalist Tori Bowie."

BARBARA GAUNTT/CLARION LEDGER/THE CLARION-LEDGER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

TALYA MINSBERG

True Vine Missionary Baptist Church, left, where loved ones gathered for Bowie's funeral. In 2016, Bowie said, "One day I hope that I can come to Sandhill and there's this huge sign that says, 'Welcome to Sandhill, home of Tori Bowie." The sign, right.

PRO BASKETBALL | N.B.A. DRAFT

JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Victor Wembanyama in September. When he was 14, he hoped he would not only make it to the N.B.A. but be the top draft pick and lead a team to a title.

The Draft's Sure Thing Is Also Quite Sure When Under Pressure

From Page D1

past eight months, as the hype around him has intensified, suggest that he thrives under pressure. When the stakes are the highest, that's when he's at his best.

"It's just something that's inside of me that's always been there," Wembanyama said one October evening in Las Vegas, between a set of exhibition games designed as his American introduction. "It could be basketball or just a card game. Under pressure, I've been twice as good."

One lucky N.B.A. team will be banking on that. The Detroit Pistons, Houston Rockets and San Antonio Spurs had the three worst regular-season records this year, giving each the best possible shot — a 14 percent chance — to win the top pick among 14 lottery teams on Tuesday.

"Ten days before knowing my future team," Wembanyama wrote in French on Twitter on May 6. "It's really a crazy thing."

The draft lottery brings Wembanyama one step closer to the start of an N.B.A. career he has dreamed about since he was 14 — which, to be fair, was only five years ago. At 19, he has already become the N.B.A.'s dream. He could change everything.

For the team that lands the No. 1 pick this year, Wembanyama could be what James was to Cleveland or what Patrick Ewing was to the Knicks. He could lead the franchise to perennial success and raise its value by hundreds of millions of dollars. That's why the Rockets owner Tilman Fertitta ended a local television interview in February with this gratuitous line: "Pray for Victor."

'Expected to Be the Savior'

In many team sports, one player can't reroute a wayward franchise. Basketball is different. Think of how James, the first overall pick in 2003, lifted the Cleveland Cavaliers to championship contention from obscurity and how Ewing helped lead the Knicks to 13 consecutive playoff berths, including two trips to the N.B.A. finals. Or how Shaquille O'Neal, selected first in 1992, made the fledgling Orlando Magic a playoff team before he and Kobe Bryant led the Lakers to three straight championships.

James has made the All-Star team 19 times, won the league's Most Valuable Player Award four times and been named the M.V.P. of the N.B.A. finals four times. He won at least one championship with each of the three franchises he's played for, including the first-ever title for the Cavaliers.

A few years ago, Nike released an ad looking back on James's career. It began with an 18-year-old James being asked at a news conference how much pressure he felt to perform immediately.

"There's no pressure," James said. "There's no pressure at all. I've been getting pressure since I was 10 years old."

He later added a bit of a caveat: "It hasn't kicked in yet what I'm getting myself into."

The weight of carrying a franchise's hopes can be challenging, especially when it doesn't work out.

In 2007, when the Portland Trail Blazers had the first pick in the draft, the consensus around the league was that the two best players were center Greg Oden and forward Kevin Durant.

"They even had billboards up around the city," said Jim Taylor, who was a longtime communications executive for the Trail Blazers. "Honk once for Oden, twice for Durant."

Portland took Oden at No. 1, and the Seattle SuperSonics drafted Durant second overall. Taylor rode the plane back with Oden, and thinks Oden must not have had any idea what awaited him — an exultant news conference followed by a rally packed with fans.

The Trail Blazers and many of their fans thought Oden's arrival would mark the start of a dynasty, as he joined Brandon Roy, the 2007 N.B.A. rookie of the year, and LaMarcus Aldridge, who had just made the all-rookie first team. The last time Portland had won a championship, in 1977, the Hall of Famer Bill Walton was the big man who had led them there.

"That's a lot of pressure; there's no two ways about it," Taylor said. "I can't imagine being that young, having played just one year of college basketball, coming in and being expected to be the savior of the franchise or the new upcoming face of the N.B.A."

A knee injury sidelined Oden for his first season and later three others. He played his last N.B.A. game in 2014.

There have been more hits than misses at the No. 1 pick — 12 of the past 20 have made All-Star teams — but the expectations for Wembanyama are higher than individual awards.

Wembanyama has long felt destined to do something great.

'Born for This'

When Wembanyama was 14, he hoped he would not only make it to the N.B.A. but be the top draft pick and lead a team to a championship.

"This is a country of dreams, of the American dream, you know?" said Bouna Ndiaye, Wembanyama's agent. "'I'm, the best.' They all want to be the best. Victor, he has this attitude in him every day, doing his best to be unique, and yeah, that's very different from the French culture. But I think it just fits where he is going now."

Wembanyama is 7-foot-3 with an eight-foot wingspan, which would set him up to be a great center. But he also has the agility and shooting touch of a guard. There's no one else like him, which has escalated the projections of his ceiling almost beyond reason.

But he has spent his life surpassing his and others' lofty expectations.

"To talk about pressure, I don't think that that's an appropriate word for Victor because he, I think he's born for that," Ndiaye said. "He's just naturally born for this kind of situation."

Examples of this go back to his days playing with the junior team at Nanterre, the club in the Paris suburbs where he played from age 10 to 17.

Frédéric Donnadieu, the president of Nanterre's club, remembers going to see him play during a postseason tournament in 2018, when Wembanyama was 14. He wanted to answer for himself the question of how Wembanyama performed under pressure. At the time, he said, talking about the N.B.A. was "taboo."

"There is a lot of pressure for young kids," Donnadieu said in French, noting that the gym was filled with fans and other French professional clubs that day. "For the kids, some of them break down sometimes. And that's why that year, we lost zero games that year because Victor, and the others, had big mental strength and they were frankly impressive."

Donnadieu saw that mental fortitude again and again from Wembanyama, even more so when he started playing professionally for Nanterre at 16. At 17, Wembanyama was named the best blocker and best young player in the league, Donnadieu said.

Wembanyama's affinity for pressure-filled moments has shown throughout this season with Metropolitans 92.

In October, in a two-game exhibition in Las Vegas that was nationally televised in the United States, Wembanyama faced the N.B.A.'s G League Ignite team featuring guard Scoot Henderson, who is expected to be the second pick in the draft.

With scouts from every N.B.A. team there, Wembanyama put on a show in the first game, scoring 37 points with seven 3-pointers and five blocked shots. But the Ignite won, and Wembanyama said he barely noticed the N.B.A. players sitting courtside to watch him because he was too upset about the loss.

He was asked about shooting so many 3s.

"At some point it was just about taking over because my team definitely needed players to step up," he said, adding, "Three is more than two, so this time you've got to do what you've got to do."

Two days later the teams met again. This time, Wembanyama had 36 points,

Léontine Gallois contributed reporting.

JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

EMMANUEL DUNAND/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

Wembanyama has the height and wingspan of a big man, but he shoots and handles the ball like a guard.

RENE MACURA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Wembanyama is the most-hyped prospect since LeBron James, who was drafted first in 2003 and remade the Cavaliers into a championship team.

JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wembanyama with a Metropolitans 92 teammate, above. The club is second in its French league. Frédéric Donnadieu, president of the Nanterre 92 basketball club, where Wembanyama played from age 10 to 17, left.

11 rebounds and 4 blocks. Metropolitans 92 won, 112-106.

'He Has His Own Agenda'

This season, the Metropolitans 92 have had dual goals. They want to win games, but they also want to develop Wembanyama into a player who can be a dominant force for years to come.

"I think what's most important is what we do with the human being to make him grow and to keep him as a learner," Vincent Collet, who coaches the Metropolitans 92 and the French national team, said in September. "Whatever we do this season, the process won't be finished when we start next season in the N.B.A. He will be a rookie. Talented rookie, but still a rookie. He will have to learn many things."

Team officials hoped to help Wembanyama strengthen his body, so he could handle the physicality and length of an N.B.A. season, without risking injury.

Ndiaye, Wembanyama's agent, meets with the Metropolitans 92 every few weeks to discuss his progress.

"The good thing is every game we are seeing something different," Ndiaye said last week. He continued: "He is now much stronger. Early in the season when he was driving, you know, sometimes he was falling because of physical defenders, but now he doesn't move."

Wembanyama is thinking about both his future and his present. He asks the people managing his schedule not to overload it so he can focus on his team's games. He keeps telling people he thinks the Mets, who are second in their league, can win the championship. If they do, the championship round would end just a few days before the N.B.A. draft.

In the months since his season began, Wembanyama's fame has grown. But what hasn't changed is the way he tries to keep himself grounded. He can often be spotted with a book in his hand, whether he's boarding a team bus or meeting people after a game.

He still enjoys doing things that allow him to reset so that his goals can't overwhelm him.

"Victor is living his life," Ndiaye said with a laugh. "After 9 p.m., you cannot reach him. He's drawing, reading, listening to music, classical music, he has his own agenda."

Next on his agenda: reaching his wildest dreams.

PRO BASKETBALL | N.B.A. PLAYOFFS

ADAM GLANZMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Jayson Tatum, above, and Jaylen Brown (7) helped Boston pull away. The Celtics outscored the 76ers, 33-10, in the third quarter.

Tatum Erupts for 51 as Celtics Roll in Game 7

From Page D1

seeded Miami Heat in the Eastern Conference finals, starting on Wednesday in Boston. After surviving the play-in bracket, the Heat ousted the top-seeded Milwaukee Bucks in the first round, then eliminated the Knicks in six games in their conference semifinal series. Boston beat the seventh-seeded Atlanta Hawks in six games in the first round.

The Heat have a star in Jimmy Butler, who, year after year, seems to elevate his level of play in the postseason — a fearsome two-way player who seldom has an off night.

The Celtics, of course, have an explosive star of their own in Tatum, but he had his struggles against the 76ers. On Sunday, he was the best player in the building. He shot 17 of 28 from the field and 6 of 10 from 3-point range, and finished with 13 rebounds and five assists.

"We just handled the ebbs and flows of the series," Celtics Coach Joe Mazzulla said. "We never got too emotionally high or too emotionally low. We were able to keep our emotional togetherness intact."

Missed opportunities will haunt the 76ers, who had a 3-2 series lead with a chance to wrap it up at home on Thursday. In that game, Tatum missed 13 of his first 14 field-goal attempts. But the Celtics were solid defensively and Tatum got hot late to extend the series with a 95-86 win.

"To be honest, they had us on the ropes," said Tatum, adding: "And I was relieved, because our season could've been over."

Game 7s are inherently important, but so much seemed to hinge on this one for both teams. For the Celtics, a loss would have represented a stark regression from all that they achieved last season, when they advanced to the N.B.A. finals before losing to the Golden State Warriors in six games.

But progress is seldom linear, and the Celtics faced an unusually rocky path this season: an unexpected coaching change before the start of training camp, a season-ending injury to Danilo Gallinari before he even appeared in a game and a defense that lacked its familiar oomph.

For the 76ers, Sunday's game, fair or not, set up as something of a referendum on the Process, the team-building exercise that, as one of its foundational pieces, landed them Embiid in the 2014 N.B.A. draft. But now was the time for a deep playoff run.

Sixers Coach Doc Rivers acknowledged the pressure before the game and anticipated the importance of his key players pushing themselves "to the max of exhaustion."

Embiid spent his final few quiet moments before the tip dribbling near the halfcourt circle. He even hoisted a couple of pretend shots before handing the ball to his teammate Tyrese Maxey.

The rest of Embiid's afternoon was grim. Harden's was somehow worse. The 76ers have now made six straight playoff appearances without advancing to the conference finals.

"I thought James came to play, I really did," Rivers said, referring to Harden. "I thought he was trying to see the game, and I thought he played downhill a lot. Where he passed the ball tonight was the right decision, and we didn't get anything out of it."

The series was full of uneven performances. Atop that list was Harden, who scored 45 points in Game 1 before he promptly disappeared, shooting a combined 5 of 28 from the field in a pair of losses. He resurfaced for Game 4, scoring 42 points, but was passive again in Games 5 and 6. So the question was: Which version of Harden would show up for Game 7?

He was laboring early in the second quarter when he appeared to lose his grip on the ball going for a layup. Caught in the air, Harden swung an elbow that caught Brown in the face.

"Nothing like a shot in the face to wake you right up," Brown said.

Harden was whistled for a flagrant foul. Brown made both free throws, and then Tatum threw a lob to Robert Williams for a dunk. Rivers cited the flagrant foul as a turning point.

"After that, we never played right again," Rivers said.

The Celtics were continuing to mount a run when Brown, who was playing with a cotton swab stuffed up his left nostril to stanch the bleeding from his collision with Harden, tumbled in front of the opposing bench. As Brown gathered himself and turned to run upcourt, the 76ers' Georges Niang reached out from his folding chair to grab Brown's left leg.

Brown yelled at Niang, and both players were assessed technical fouls. At the time, Boston was actually trailing. But the fans were loud, and the Celtics made sure they stayed that way.

WINSLOW TOWNSON/USA TODAY SPORTS VIA REUTERS CON

STEVEN SENNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Celtics earned a meeting with the eighth-seeded Miami Heat in the Eastern Conference finals, starting on Wednesday in Boston. They won Game 7, 112-88.

WINSLOW TOWNSON/USA TODAY SPORTS VIA REUTERS CON

Joel Embiid, the 76ers' center and the league's M.V.P. this season, struggled in Game 7, finishing with just 15 points.

PRO BASKETBALL

Morant Suspended from Grizzlies for Posting Possible New Gun Video

By TANIA GANGULI

Memphis Grizzlies guard Ja Morant, 23, is under scrutiny from the N.B.A. again after he flashed an object that looked like a gun in a carefree manner during an Instagram Live video posted over the weekend.

The video, which appeared to be posted on Saturday, came just over two months after the N.B.A. suspended Morant for displaying a gun in a live Instagram video filmed at a nightclub near Denver. He expressed remorse then, saying that the gun did not belong to him and that he would be better.

On Sunday, the Grizzlies said in a statement that they had suspended Morant from all team activities pending the league's review of the new video. Memphis was eliminated from the playoffs last month after losing to the Lakers in the first round. Mike Bass, a league spokesman, said the N.B.A. was "aware" of the post and was gathering more information.

In March, the league suspended Morant for eight games after the nightclub video. N.B.A. Commissioner Adam Silver noted Morant's "enormous following and influence" in the announcement of that suspension, which classified the gun incident as conduct detrimental to the league. That Instagram Live video was posted early on March 4, when, the N.B.A. said, Morant had been "in an intoxicated state." Morant soon checked into a facility in Florida for counseling.

"I'm going to take some time away to get help and work on learning better methods of dealing with stress and my overall well-being," Morant said at the time in a statement, which was posted on Twitter by Tandem, the agency that represents him.

In contrast to Sunday, when the Grizzlies suspended Morant, the team first responded to March's incident less pointedly, simply saying that Morant would step away from the team. Coach Taylor Jenkins shied away from criticizing Morant when addressing reporters then and offered few details about any conversations he or the team might have had with Morant.

Morant later said going to counseling was his idea.

The nightclub incident was just one in a series of concerning off-court situations for Morant going back to last summer, some of which involved people who said they felt threatened by Morant or his associates, according to reports in The Washington Post and The Athletic.

BRANDON DILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Morant posted another Instagram Live featuring an object that looked like a firearm.

One incident involved a fight with a 17-year-old, Josh Holloway, whom Morant had invited to his home for a pickup game in July. Holloway has filed a suit against Morant; the police investigated the incident but have not charged Morant. Four days earlier, a mall security employee had accused Morant of threatening him after Morant's mother, Jamie Morant, had been involved in a disagreement at a shoe store.

TMZ also reported that the police investigated Morant for intimidation after a high school volleyball game in September, when Morant said somebody had insulted his sister. During an interview with ESPN, Morant said he feared for his sister's safety and left when he knew she was safe.

Before Morant returned to the Grizzlies from his suspension in March, he met with Silver, the commissioner, and called the meeting an "open discussion."

"Obviously, he said things I need to be better at, but more of just showing his support towards me," Morant said during the interview with ESPN. "I accepted that, and I also sent my apologies to everybody — to the league, myself, my teammates, my family for putting that negativity towards all of us with a bad decision."

Morant's eight-game suspension, announced March 15, included the five games he had already missed when he left the team for counseling.

"I'm a totally different person than what's been shown in the media," Morant said in the ESPN interview, broadcast hours after his suspension was announced. "That's my job now. That's why I took that time away, to become a better Ja, so everybody really can see who Ja really is and you know what he's about."

Once he returned, he showed a mixture of defiance and contrition. He said the journey that he began in counseling was a continuing process.

He was celebrated by Grizzlies fans in his first game back. Members of his family wore attire that said "redemption" on it. In comments after the game, Morant indicated that he felt unfairly targeted at times.

Still, that return was an opportunity for Morant to show that his stated desire to be better was sincere.

Morant is one of the league's top guards. His signature shoe with Nike made its debut in March. Nike did not immediately respond to a request for comment about Morant's latest suspension.

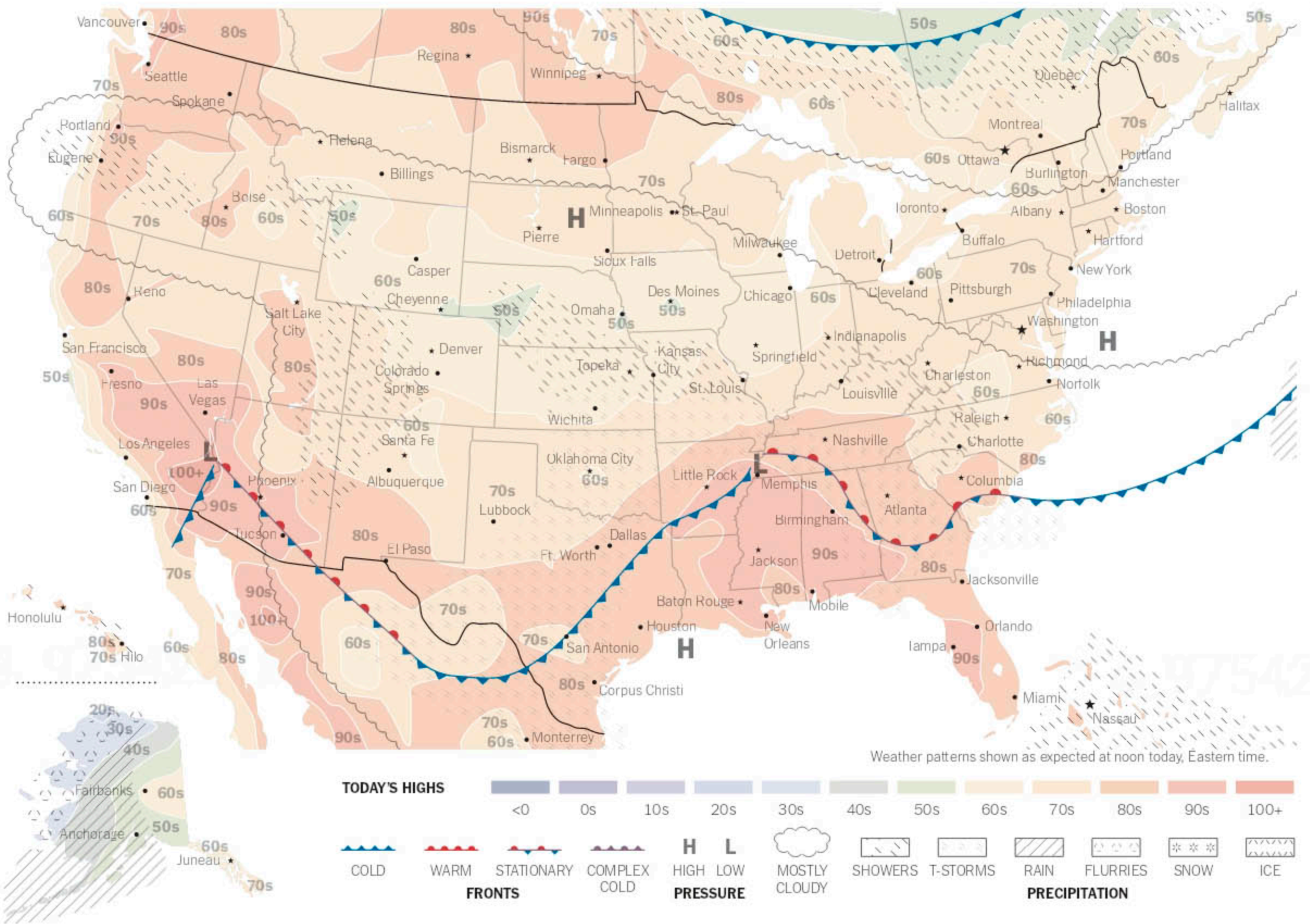
He just completed his fourth season with the Grizzlies, having come to the team as a small but electrifying point guard out of Murray State as the No. 2 overall pick in the 2019 draft. He is the leader on a young team that had been one of the best in the Western Conference all season even as Memphis coped with injuries to key players.

Last week, after Morant was not selected as one of the six guards on the three All-N.B.A. teams, he reposted a tweet from a Grizzlies beat writer that suggested that his off-court behavior might have contributed to his not being selected.

Morant signed a five-year contract extension last summer, which included an additional $38 million if he made the All-N.B.A. team this year. According to The Associated Press, Morant filed a countersuit against Holloway in April, accusing Holloway of harming his reputation and potentially costing him millions of dollars.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Mostly sunny

High 76. Overhead high pressure will promote dry conditions, with sunny to partly cloudy skies. Temperatures will be slightly above the historical average.

TONIGHT ....Partly cloudy

Low 57. It will be dry, with partly cloudy skies. Winds will be light at 4-8 miles per hour. Low temperatures will be above the historical average for mid-May.

TOMORROW ....Sunny to partly cloudy

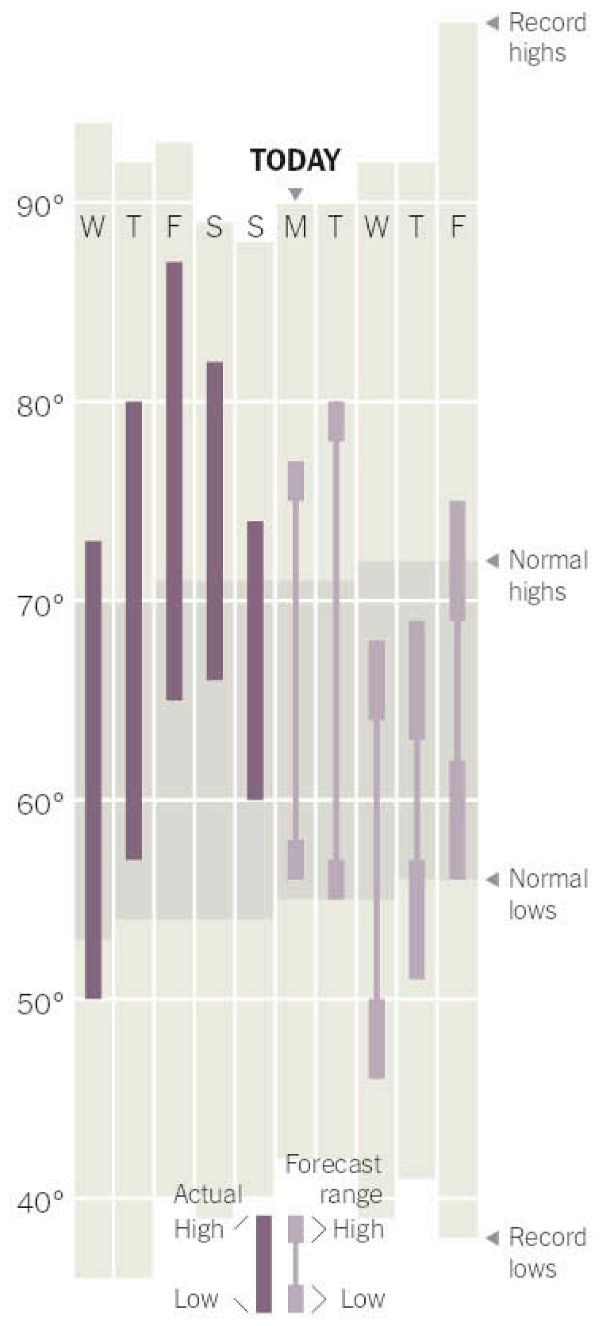
High 79. High pressure will remain, promoting sunny to partly cloudy skies across the area. Winds will be at 6-12 m.p.h. Temperatures will be above the historical average.

WEDNESDAY ....Sunny and not as warm

Dry conditions will continue, with sunny skies. Winds will be at 7-14 m.p.h. Temperatures will be cooler than days before and below average. High 66.

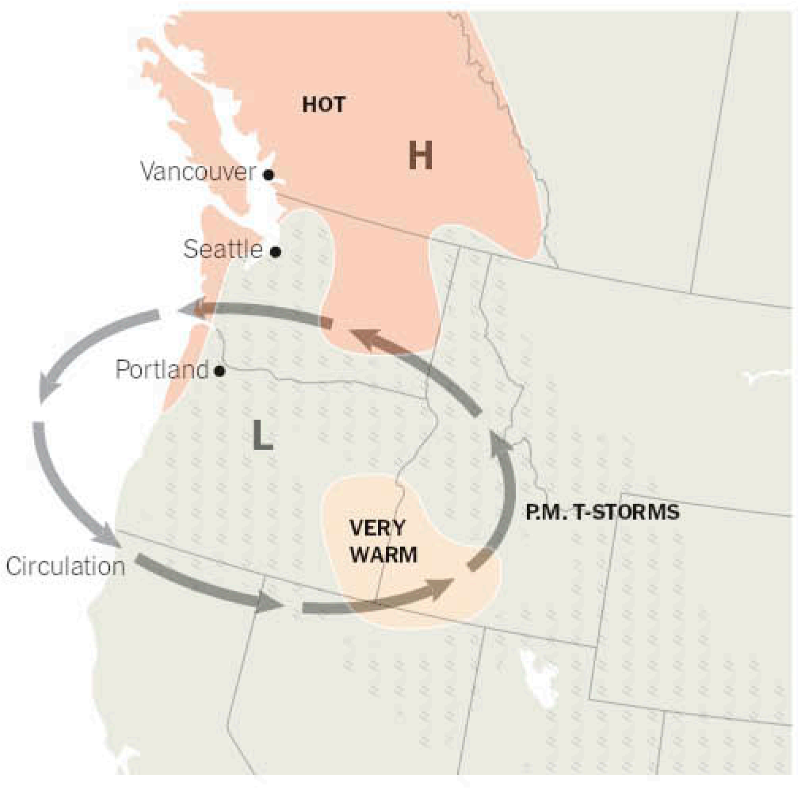
THURSDAY
FRIDAY ....Sunshine and clouds

Sunny skies and dry conditions will continue Thursday as high pressure remains. High 66. Friday will be a mix of clouds and sunshine. High 72.



Highlight: Record Heat in the Northwest

A ridge of high pressure centered over British Columbia will bring a prolonged stretch of unusual May heat in the Pacific Northwest into western Canada. Daily temperature records will be challenged or broken in many locations through at least the middle of the week. Spotty afternoon thunderstorms will develop over the mountains and, while providing some temporary cooling in spots, may also bring lightning strikes that could start wildfires.



National Forecast

A storm centered in the southern Mississippi River Valley is expected to produce showers and thunderstorms from Texas and Oklahoma to the Carolinas. Widespread severe weather is not expected, but locally strong wind gusts and heavy downpours are possible.

At the same time, high pressure will hold over the Great Lakes, allowing for a mild day from the Upper Midwest to the Northeast and keeping the majority of the area free of rain.

In the western part of the U.S., a storm will settle in the interior West, allowing a few showers and rumbles of thunder to expand from the Rockies to central Oregon and Washington. Areas that remain dry can expect another very warm day.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature

Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +1.1°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.8°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 99%
Est. normal 100%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 3.38

For the last 30 days
Actual 7.73
Normal 3.93

For the last 365 days
Actual 46.78
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High .... 30.23 9 a.m.
Low .... 30.12 1 a.m.

Humidity
High .... 39% 9 a.m.
Low .... 20% 4 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday.. 2
So far this month.............................. 30
So far this season (since January 1) 71
Normal to date for the season 31

Trends

Temperature — Average — Below / Above
Precipitation — Average — Below / Above

Last 10 days
30 days
90 days
365 days

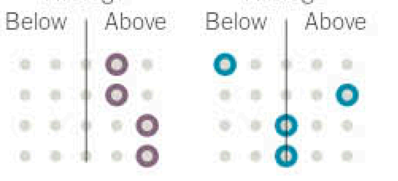


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C .... Clouds
F .... Fog
H .... Haze
I .... Ice
PC .... Partly cloudy
R .... Rain
Sh .... Showers
S .... Sun
Sn .... Snow
SS .... Snow showers
T .... Thunderstorms
Tr .... Trace
W .... Windy
– .... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	74/ 60 0	75/ 59 S	79/ 56 S
Bridgeport	70/ 54 0	73/ 57 S	73/ 58 S
Caldwell	73/ 56 0	78/ 54 S	79/ 58 S
Danbury	68/ 49 0	77/ 51 S	80/ 53 S
Islip	66/ 55 0	73/ 55 S	76/ 59 S
Newark	78/ 61 0	81/ 58 S	82/ 59 S
Trenton	72/ 55 0	73/ 52 S	75/ 56 S
White Plains	70/ 53 0	75/ 55 S	77/ 55 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	67/ 41 0	73/ 51 PC	79/ 45 PC
Albuquerque	75/ 54 0.26	78/ 57 T	82/ 58 C
Anchorage	55/ 42 0.01	54/ 42 PC	55/ 39 Sh
Atlanta	90/ 69 0.04	84/ 67 R	82/ 67 T
Atlantic City	65/ 53 0	69/ 57 S	70/ 57 W
Austin	77/ 67 0.92	81/ 66 T	79/ 65 T
Baltimore	78/ 53 0	77/ 56 S	76/ 58 PC
Baton Rouge	91/ 69 0.04	90/ 71 T	87/ 70 T
Birmingham	90/ 69 0.04	90/ 69 T	88/ 67 T
Boise	76/ 54 0.02	83/ 55 PC	85/ 53 S
Boston	66/ 51 0	76/ 59 S	79/ 53 S
Buffalo	60/ 43 0	67/ 50 S	66/ 42 W
Burlington	63/ 43 0	74/ 53 PC	69/ 41 T
Casper	52/ 40 0	69/ 41 PC	73/ 43 S
Charlotte	83/ 64 0	78/ 62 R	84/ 66 T
Chattanooga	87/ 67 0.08	85/ 69 R	85/ 65 T
Chicago	62/ 45 0.14	68/ 52 S	76/ 50 PC
Cincinnati	79/ 54 0	75/ 58 PC	70/ 56 Sh
Cleveland	66/ 46 0	70/ 52 S	73/ 47 C
Colorado Springs	59/ 47 0.17	64/ 45 T	74/ 49 T
Columbus	77/ 51 0.00	76/ 54 PC	70/ 52 PC
Concord, N.H.	64/ 36 0	73/ 51 S	75/ 48 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	80/ 68 1.05	83/ 66 T	83/ 62 T
Denver	54/ 45 0.08	62/ 47 C	77/ 49 PC
Des Moines	65/ 51 0.10	62/ 51 PC	77/ 53 C
Detroit	69/ 43 0	75/ 48 S	77/ 46 PC
El Paso	85/ 65 0	86/ 65 T	88/ 64 C
Fargo	76/ 46 0	82/ 55 S	81/ 53 S
Hartford	70/ 43 0	78/ 52 S	81/ 53 S
Honolulu	82/ 70 0.03	83/ 69 PC	84/ 72 PC
Houston	78/ 70 1.05	86/ 68 T	84/ 67 T
Indianapolis	77/ 53 0.10	71/ 57 PC	72/ 56 Sh
Jackson	91/ 68 0.04	90/ 68 T	89/ 66 T
Jacksonville	87/ 66 0.04	85/ 66 PC	87/ 68 T
Kansas City	85/ 58 0.05	61/ 55 C	72/ 54 C
Key West	86/ 77 0.07	86/ 76 T	86/ 77 S
Las Vegas	96/ 71 0	98/ 76 S	94/ 73 PC
Lexington	79/ 61 0.01	75/ 61 PC	75/ 53 Sh
Little Rock	89/ 71 0.04	90/ 70 T	82/ 66 T
Los Angeles	79/ 57 0	75/ 56 PC	80/ 58 PC
Louisville	82/ 62 0.03	76/ 62 Sh	71/ 59 Sh
Memphis	90/ 71 0.04	90/ 70 T	83/ 67 T
Miami	87/ 75 0	86/ 74 T	90/ 74 T
Milwaukee	56/ 44 0.18	66/ 52 S	72/ 45 T
Mpls.-St. Paul	67/ 49 0.43	75/ 55 S	80/ 55 PC
Nashville	87/ 66 0.10	85/ 66 T	82/ 63 T
New Orleans	89/ 73 0.04	90/ 73 T	86/ 73 T
Norfolk	72/ 58 0	70/ 57 PC	77/ 65 Sh
Oklahoma City	73/ 64 0.83	71/ 59 Sh	74/ 59 T
Omaha	78/ 52 0.02	61/ 51 PC	79/ 54 PC
Orlando	91/ 67 0	91/ 69 S	93/ 70 T
Philadelphia	75/ 56 0	77/ 58 S	81/ 60 S
Phoenix	100/ 76 0	101/ 78 C	99/ 76 S
Pittsburgh	74/ 49 0	75/ 48 PC	69/ 49 PC
Portland, Me.	64/ 40 0	73/ 54 S	73/ 46 W
Portland, Ore.	95/ 62 0	93/ 61 T	88/ 60 PC
Providence	69/ 45 0	76/ 54 S	76/ 55 W
Raleigh	82/ 60 Tr	72/ 60 R	83/ 65 T
Reno	75/ 52 0.02	81/ 50 S	85/ 50 S
Richmond	79/ 54 0	73/ 55 PC	73/ 59 C
Rochester	60/ 39 0	72/ 49 PC	72/ 40 T
Sacramento	86/ 55 0	87/ 55 S	93/ 57 S
Salt Lake City	76/ 59 0.06	83/ 59 PC	83/ 60 S
San Antonio	83/ 69 1.15	78/ 67 T	79/ 65 T
San Diego	67/ 60 0	68/ 60 PC	71/ 61 PC
San Francisco	70/ 57 0	71/ 55 PC	72/ 53 PC
San Jose	80/ 56 0	85/ 57 PC	86/ 57 S
San Juan	88/ 75 0.08	90/ 75 PC	90/ 75 Sh
Seattle	90/ 63 0	89/ 59 T	79/ 59 PC
Sioux Falls	62/ 48 0.28	72/ 48 PC	78/ 53 PC
Spokane	81/ 58 0	83/ 58 C	80/ 57 T
St. Louis	86/ 63 0.45	70/ 61 Sh	75/ 58 C
St. Thomas	88/ 79 0	87/ 78 PC	87/ 78 C
Syracuse	60/ 36 0	70/ 48 PC	75/ 40 W
Tampa	90/ 72 0	92/ 74 S	90/ 78 PC
Toledo	69/ 46 0	75/ 49 S	79/ 48 C
Tucson	94/ 68 0.02	94/ 67 PC	93/ 69 C
Tulsa	82/ 65 0.22	76/ 61 Sh	73/ 59 C
Virginia Beach	72/ 59 0	69/ 58 PC	76/ 66 Sh
Washington	78/ 55 0	77/ 59 PC	75/ 61 PC
Wichita	75/ 63 0.30	67/ 56 Sh	75/ 55 C
Wilmington, Del.	78/ 53 0	76/ 55 S	76/ 57 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	68/ 49 0.32	74/ 53 PC	76/ 52 S
Cairo	87/ 63 0	91/ 67 S	97/ 72 PC
Cape Town	68/ 52 0	69/ 51 S	68/ 53 PC
Dakar	79/ 72 0	81/ 73 S	81/ 72 PC
Johannesburg	63/ 50 0.13	61/ 48 T	60/ 48 T
Nairobi	81/ 61 0.24	78/ 60 PC	77/ 60 R
Tunis	69/ 62 0.34	66/ 62 R	74/ 60 W

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	91/ 71 0	94/ 65 PC	97/ 64 S
Bangkok	99/ 81 0.04	97/ 82 PC	98/ 82 PC
Beijing	86/ 56 0	96/ 67 S	95/ 70 T
Damascus	90/ 53 0	90/ 59 S	93/ 63 S
Hong Kong	75/ 69 1.73	84/ 76 PC	85/ 78 C
Jakarta	93/ 79 0	90/ 77 T	90/ 77 T
Jerusalem	74/ 52 0	85/ 62 S	92/ 68 S
Karachi	97/ 82 0	95/ 82 W	93/ 83 W
Manila	91/ 81 0.22	94/ 81 T	93/ 81 T
Mumbai	93/ 84 0	93/ 84 PC	94/ 83 PC
New Delhi	104/ 82 0	109/ 83 PC	106/ 81 PC
Riyadh	101/ 83 0	102/ 80 PC	104/ 82 PC
Seoul	73/ 51 0	80/ 58 PC	84/ 58 PC
Shanghai	94/ 68 0	99/ 68 PC	92/ 69 PC
Singapore	90/ 80 0.05	91/ 80 T	90/ 80 T
Sydney	68/ 53 0.13	69/ 55 Sh	72/ 56 S
Taipei City	81/ 69 0.04	87/ 70 C	86/ 72 PC
Tehran	82/ 70 0.24	79/ 52 S	76/ 55 S
Tokyo	70/ 58 0.56	66/ 60 R	75/ 62 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	68/ 50 0	59/ 43 Sh	58/ 44 C
Athens	73/ 58 0	76/ 63 C	73/ 59 T
Berlin	68/ 47 0	67/ 50 Sh	63/ 43 Sh
Brussels	67/ 48 0.01	59/ 43 Sh	59/ 41 C
Budapest	61/ 49 1.26	67/ 53 T	65/ 57 Sh
Copenhagen	66/ 48 0	65/ 50 Sh	59/ 42 Sh
Dublin	59/ 49 0.21	58/ 39 PC	61/ 42 PC
Edinburgh	59/ 47 0	58/ 42 Sh	61/ 44 PC
Frankfurt	70/ 50 0	69/ 50 Sh	62/ 42 C
Geneva	63/ 48 0.12	66/ 51 T	58/ 48 Sh
Helsinki	72/ 46 0	73/ 50 C	62/ 51 C
Istanbul	68/ 51 0.01	73/ 58 C	78/ 60 PC
Kyiv	76/ 50 0	76/ 56 C	68/ 56 C
Lisbon	75/ 56 0	74/ 56 S	83/ 60 S
London	68/ 45 0	60/ 43 Sh	64/ 46 PC
Madrid	72/ 46 0.02	73/ 46 PC	74/ 44 PC
Moscow	61/ 47 0	66/ 47 C	70/ 50 PC
Nice	66/ 56 0.01	68/ 59 T	70/ 60 R
Oslo	68/ 46 0.02	69/ 50 Sh	64/ 42 Sh
Paris	66/ 50 0.01	62/ 44 C	62/ 44 PC
Prague	64/ 43 0.10	63/ 46 R	60/ 43 Sh
Rome	68/ 56 0.09	70/ 57 T	67/ 57 R
St. Petersburg	70/ 47 0.01	75/ 50 C	74/ 55 C
Stockholm	72/ 42 0	66/ 47 C	59/ 45 Sh
Vienna	54/ 47 1.11	64/ 49 T	62/ 51 Sh
Warsaw	73/ 46 0	60/ 50 Sh	69/ 52 C

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 75 0	90/ 74 T	90/ 75 T
Bermuda	75/ 67 0.03	74/ 64 C	73/ 66 S
Edmonton	79/ 48 0	82/ 48 S	76/ 42 S
Guadalajara	87/ 57 0.02	89/ 58 S	88/ 58 S
Havana	86/ 68 0	87/ 68 T	88/ 71 T
Kingston	90/ 79 0	90/ 79 T	88/ 80 T
Martinique	88/ 77 0	89/ 77 C	88/ 76 Sh
Mexico City	76/ 54 0.01	77/ 53 R	76/ 53 R
Monterrey	74/ 66 0.33	81/ 66 R	83/ 63 T
Montreal	63/ 41 0	71/ 53 C	60/ 40 R
Nassau	83/ 75 0.10	83/ 73 C	85/ 75 S
Panama City	91/ 75 0.02	91/ 76 T	87/ 74 R
Quebec City	62/ 38 0	63/ 48 C	52/ 34 R
Santo Domingo	88/ 72 0.08	89/ 72 T	90/ 74 T
Toronto	62/ 47 0	73/ 50 S	73/ 38 W
Vancouver	73/ 55 0	78/ 59 S	73/ 57 PC
Winnipeg	79/ 43 0	86/ 53 S	75/ 52 PC

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	75/ 59 0	72/ 60 S	73/ 60 S
Caracas	85/ 74 0	88/ 74 T	89/ 74 T
Lima	80/ 67 0	73/ 68 PC	74/ 67 PC
Quito	68/ 47 0.12	65/ 45 Sh	69/ 47 Sh
Recife	86/ 77 0.02	88/ 75 PC	87/ 75 R
Rio de Janeiro	75/ 67 0	76/ 66 S	77/ 70 S
Santiago	75/ 43 0	67/ 45 PC	67/ 50 PC

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

New	First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter
May 19 11:54 a.m.	May 27	June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10

Sun	**RISE**	5:39 a.m.	**Moon**	**R**	3:39 a.m.
	SET	8:06 p.m.		**S**	3:53 p.m.
	NEXT R	5:38 a.m.		**R**	4:02 a.m.
Jupiter	**R**	4:36 a.m.	**Mars**	**R**	9:55 a.m.
	S	5:55 p.m.		**S**	12:48 a.m.
Saturn	**R**	2:32 a.m.	**Venus**	**R**	8:20 a.m.
	S	1:25 p.m.		**S**	11:45 p.m.

Boating

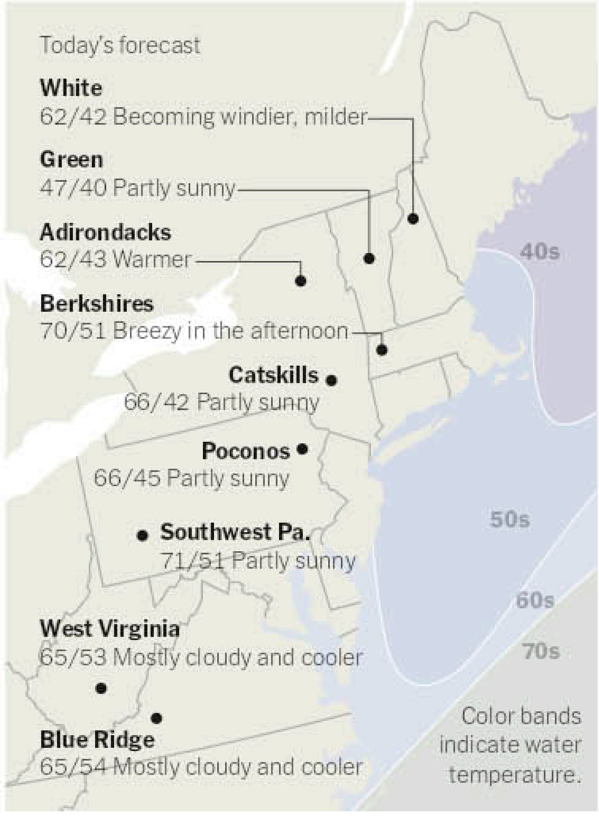
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the northwest at 5-10 knots. Waves will be around a foot on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound. Waves on the open ocean will be 2-3 feet. Visibility unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	4:38 a.m.	5:17 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	4:48 a.m.	5:24 p.m.
The Battery	5:24 a.m.	6:03 p.m.
Beach Haven	6:09 a.m.	6:47 p.m.
Bridgeport	8:30 a.m.	8:58 p.m.
City Island	9:02 a.m.	9:29 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	5:37 a.m.	6:15 p.m.
Montauk Point	6:11 a.m.	6:44 p.m.
Northport	8:48 a.m.	9:14 p.m.
Port Washington	9:11 a.m.	9:35 p.m.
Sandy Hook	4:51 a.m.	5:29 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	4:39 a.m.	5:13 p.m.
Stamford	8:42 a.m.	9:07 p.m.
Tarrytown	7:13 a.m.	7:52 p.m.
Willets Point	8:59 a.m.	9:24 p.m.

Mountain and Ocean Temperatures



High pressure overhead will lead to dry conditions across the Northeast States. It will also be breezy across the Green and White mountains and Adirondacks. Farther south across the Blue Ridge Mountains, showers will linger in the morning, with mainly cloudy skies, as a storm departs the area.*